Assyrian and
Babylonian Literature

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Photogravure from an engraving.

Assyrian and Babylonian Literature

Selected Translations

With a Critical Introduction by
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INTRODUCTION

DISCOVERY of the Cuneiform Inscriptions.—The history of the ancients has a peculiar charm for us, which gradually increases as from year to year the darkness gives way to light through the excavation and decipherment of the monuments. Until a very recent date, scholars were accustomed to turn to Egypt for the beginning of all things. Egyptian literature was the oldest, Egyptian civilization the earliest, and from the Egyptian hieroglyphs, through the Phœnician, our alphabets were derived. But the cuneiform inscriptions bring another story, and the seat of the earliest known and most influential civilization must now be changed from the valley of the Nile to the country between the Tigris and the Euphrates, southern Mesopotamia, or, in other words, Babylonia. These inscriptions have opened up to us a history far more interesting and valuable than that written on the papyri and monuments of Egypt. It deals with a nation that played an important part in Old Testament history and exerted a powerful influence over the chosen people—with a nation whose literature begins earlier than that of the Hebrews and runs parallel with it until the latter are carried into captivity by the former. Although interesting from a general historical standpoint, this literature is the more valuable because of its striking similarities to the Hebrew, and because of the help it brings to an understanding of the biblical text.

At the beginning of the present century little was

known of the ancient capitals of the Assyro-Babylonians aside from the meagre and imperfect accounts given by the Jewish and Greek historians. One would have searched his maps in vain for the exact location of Nineveh, the headquarters of the Assyrian armies which plundered the Israelites for so many years and finally besieged, captured, and transported the inhabitants of Samaria. In the case of Babylon it was no better—a city one of whose kings carried into captivity the remnant left by his northern kinsmen, the Assyrians.

Passing the travels and writings of Benjamin of Tudela (about 1160); Rabbi Pethachiah, of Ratisbon, a short time after the death of Benjamin; Conti (1444); Ortelius, of Antwerp, who published his "Geographical Treasury" in 1596, in which was incorporated all that was known at that time of Oriental geography; Hakluyt's collections of travels and voyages (1599) containing an account, translated from the Italian, of the travels of Cesare de Federici, who was the first to give us a description of Akerkuf, identified in recent years as the Dur-Kurigalzu of the inscriptions; Rauwolf, of Augsburg, who describes Akerkuf as the Tower of Babel (1573); about the beginning of the seventeenth century, John Cartwright, the first European to attempt a survey of the ruins of Nineveh; Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, ambassador of Philip III of Spain to the court of Persia; Pietro della Valle (1621), who still regarded Baghdad as the site of Babylon, and who identified the great mound near Hilleh (= Babil) as the site of the Tower of the Confusion of Tongues; Pedro Teixeita, a Portuguese; Sir Thomas Herbert (1626); Tavernier, who visited Mosul in 1644; Pater Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina da Siena (1657), who was the first, since Benjamin of Tudela, to identify the site of Babylon with Hilleh as over against Baghdad; Flower (1667); Chardin, who in 1674 copied the so-called Window inscription, the shortest of the trilingual Achæmenian inscriptions; Engelbert Kämpfer (about 1694), who copied the so-called H^2 Persepolis inscription; Cornelis de Bruin (1701); Otter, in 1734, who was the

first to notice the Behistun inscriptions and reliefs, afterward copied by Rawlinson and used in the decipherment of the inscriptions; Edward Ives (1758); Pater Emmanuel de Saint Albert, whose report on the "Ruins of Babylon" to the Duke of Orleans formed the basis of D'Anville's "Memoir" on the position of Babylon, read before the French Academy of Inscriptions in 1755; Carsten Niebuhr, who in 1765 copied several Achæmenian inscriptions, and from whose plates Grotefend afterward deciphered the names of Darius and Xerxes, thus opening the way for all future work in this line; Count Caylus, who in 1762 published the celebrated "Vase of Xerxes," with the quadrilingual inscription—in Egyptian (Hieroglyphs), Old Persian, Susian, and Babylonian—"Xerxes, the Great King"; and others, we come to the French scholar, Beauchamp, who, between 1790 and 1795, shipped to Paris some specimen bricks covered with Babylonian characters. The excitement occasioned by these short inscriptions, and especially by the report that the ruins of Babylon had been discovered in the vicinity of Hilleh, caused the East India Company to issue orders to their agent in Bassorah to obtain as quickly as possible a collection of these Babylonian inscriptions and to send them by Bombay to England. Between 1801 and 1810 several different collections were shipped, among which was the famous Nebuchadrezzar stone in ten columns, called the East India House Inscription, and now in the India Office in London.

As yet no systematic work had been done in excavating these old Assyrian and Babylonian ruins. Claudius James Rich, an Englishman, the East India Company's representative in Baghdad, was the first to begin such excavations. Rich commenced his work in 1811, and in 1812 published his "Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon," and in 1818 his "Second Memoir on Babylon," containing "an inquiry into the correspondence between the ancient description and the remains still visible on the site." In this "Second Memoir" are found copies of several more or less important Babylonian inscriptions, among which may be

mentioned as the most important the so-called Borsippa inscription of Nebuchadrezzar. Rich continued his work until 1820, sending at intervals to England such remains of inscriptions, bricks, sculptures, etc., as were excavated. In 1820 he made a journey for his health into the Kurdish mountains, and on his return he spent a few days in Mosul on the Tigris. From Mosul he saw on the other (or left) side of the river mounds similar to those at Hilleh, and he was informed by Arabs that a large stone had been found in these mounds, covered with engravings of men and animals. This find had been reported to the governor of Mosul, and he had ordered it to be broken into a thousand pieces, because, as he said, it contained engravings of the ancient gods; and with the Turks idolatry is the most heinous sin. Rich came to the conclusion that these mounds opposite Mosul represented the capital of the Assyrian Empire. On his journey down the Tigris to Baghdad he landed at the mouth of the Upper Zab and examined the mounds there, called by the Arabs Nimṛud. He collected a number of inscribed bricks, which are now to be found in the British Museum, but was not able to pursue his investigations further.

After a lapse of twenty years, in the spring of 1840, Austen Henry Layard visited the ruins of Nineveh as identified by Rich. In 1842 Layard returned to Mosul without having made any excavations. Here he met P. C. Botta, the French consul, who had been interested in this work by the Orientalist Mohl, at that time professor in Paris. Layard, being without the means necessary to carry on the excavations, strongly urged Botta to direct his attention to the work. Botta himself was without means at this time, but in 1843 he was enabled to begin, and he continued until 1845, during which time he laid bare the city walls of Khorsabad and discovered many valuable inscriptions. In 1849–'51 he published his "Monuments of Nineveh," by order of the French Government, in which are to be found 220 pages of inscriptions.

In the spring of 1845 Sir Stratford Canning, at that

time the English ambassador at Constantinople, offered Layard sufficient money to undertake excavations. Toward the end of the year Layard began work on the ruins of Nimrud, five hours south of Mosul (an hour in the East is from two and three quarters to three English miles). From the beginning he was successful. The sum allotted by Canning gave out in June, 1847, and Layard was again compelled to return to England. During the two years he had, however, laid bare three large Assyrian palaces—viz., the Northwest palace, that of Ashurnaçirpal (884–858 B. C.); the Central palace, probably built by the follower of Ashurnaçirpal, Shalmaneser II (858–823 B. C.), in which was found the celebrated Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser (now in the British Museum); and finally that of Esarhaddon (680–669 B. C.). The richest returns came from the Northwest palace, and the inscriptions found were in a much better state of preservation than those excavated by Botta in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad.

Sir Stratford Canning generously presented the entire results of Layard's expedition to the British Museum, to which place they were shipped by the explorer himself. Layard shortly afterward published an account of his work in "Nineveh and its Remains." This book created a great sensation in England, and as a result the English Government became interested in the excavations. In 1849 Layard was given leave of absence from his diplomatic post in Constantinople and sent back to Assyria, and Hormuzd Rassam, English consul at Mosul, but a native Arab, was ordered to join him. During the first expedition, Layard had confined his operations to Nimrud, but in this, his second, he began work at Kouyunjik, the site of Nineveh. Botta had already conducted excavations at this mound, but with comparatively little success, since his methods were wholly unscientific. Instead of running trenches here and there to find walls and then following these walls, Botta sank perpendicular shafts to no purpose. In his first expedition Layard had found the Southwest palace of Sennacherib (705–681 B. C.), as restored by his grandson Ashur-

banipal, but he had not been able to carry his work to completion. In his second trip (1849–'51) this building was fully brought to light. This palace was the largest yet found, containing seventy-three rooms. Excavations were also made in Nebbi Yunus—i. e., the grave of the prophet Jonah—where Layard says that he found Esarhaddon inscriptions, and in Qal'at Sherkat (the old Asshur). In Nebbi-Yunus, palaces of Ramman-Nirari (811–782 B. C.), Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon were found, while in Qal'at Sherkat, Layard, or rather Rassam, discovered the foundations of a palace of Tiglath-pileser I, and here it was that the large cylinder of eight hundred lines belonging to Tiglath-pileser I (1120 B. C.) was found. During this expedition Layard also visited several sites in Babylonia, but he was able to accomplish little or nothing.

Immediately following and closely connected with Layard's second expedition was that of Hormuzd Rassam (1852–'54), during which the North palace of Ashurbanipal was discovered and laid bare. In this was found the celebrated "Library of Ashurbanipal," containing thousands of clay tablets inscribed on both sides.

About the same time with Rassam (1852–'54, or rather 1851–'55), Victor Place, the French consul at Mosul, took up the work of excavating at Khorsabad which had been begun by Botta. While this work was going on in Assyria, Loftus from 1849, Fresnel and Oppert in 1852, and Taylor from 1852, began excavations in Babylonia. In 1853–'54 Loftus and Taylor visited and afterward described the ruins of Warka, Senkereh, Ur, etc. The French expedition was badly managed, but it must be acknowledged that almost all that we know of the topography of Babylonia dates from this expedition. The boat containing the results of their excavations was wrecked in the Tigris on May 23, 1855, and hence the inscriptions never reached Paris, to which place they were being shipped when lost. Accounts of both of these expeditions have been given by Oppert and Loftus respectively. With these expeditions

what may be called the first period of Assyro-Babylonian excavations comes to an end.

Before going to the second period, mention must be made of the discovery and copying of the famous Behistun inscription by Colonel Rawlinson (later Sir Henry). This inscription consists of about four hundred lines, and it was carved, by order of Darius Hystaspes, on a steep mountain —about seventeen hundred feet high—called Behistun (near Kermanschah). The English officer not only copied this inscription for the first time (between the years 1835 and 1837), but he also made the first translation, having worked at intervals on this inscription from 1835 to 1846, when he brought his manuscript, containing the copy of the Babylonian text, to London. The important part played by this inscription and its discoverer in the history of the decipherment of the inscriptions will be noted later. After the close of the first period, no excavations were made for almost twenty years. During this time Layard published his "Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments," and the first three volumes of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia" had appeared, edited by Rawlinson with the help of Edwin Norris and George Smith.

In 1872 George Smith had the good fortune to discover some tablets containing the Chaldean account of the Deluge. The results of his find were laid before the Society of Biblical Archæology on December 3, 1872. "In consequence of the wide interest taken at the time in these discoveries, the proprietors of the 'Daily Telegraph' newspaper came forward and offered to advance a sum of one thousand guineas for fresh researches at Nineveh in order to recover more of these interesting inscriptions, the terms of agreement being that I should conduct the expedition, and should supply the 'Telegraph' from time to time with accounts of my journeys and discoveries in the East in return." In January, 1873, with George Smith, the second period of excavations began. Between 1873 and 1876 Smith made three expeditions, from the last of

which he never returned, dying on his homeward journey at Aleppo, August 19, 1876, of a fever contracted in Baghdad. Smith's chief work was to make a more thorough examination of the palaces in Kouyunjik, and especially of the Northwest palace discovered by Rassam. Rassam continued the work begun by Smith, and between 1877 and 1881 made three expeditions. The chief result of the first was the uncovering of another palace of Ashurnaçirpal at Nimrud, and the finding of the celebrated Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser II. In the same year he visited the palaces of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal at Kouyunjik, and brought back with him about fourteen hundred tablets and the large ten-column cylinder of Ashurbanipal, known as the Rassam (R^m) cylinder. In his second expedition he directed his attention to Babylon. Besides the so-called Egibi tablets, contracts, etc., he brought with him this time inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar, and, what is more important, inscriptions of Nabonidus and of Cyrus. During his last trip the most important discovery was the Temple of the Sun at Abu-Habba, the Sephervaim of the Old Testament and the Sippara of the inscriptions. This site was accidentally found while Rassam was hunting for another mound. It is only seven to eight hours southwest of Baghdad, or less than twenty-five miles.

From 1876 to 1881, while Rassam was also at work, the French vice-consul at Bosrah, Ernest de Sarzec, had been excavating at Tello, the Shirpurla—or Lagash—of the inscriptions. The finds were for the most part non-Semitic. They are now in the Louvre. De Sarzec has been excavating at Tello at intervals during the last twenty years. He was there in 1889, and was visited by some of the American party who were then excavating at Niffer.

The first American expedition to Babylonia was the Catherine Wolfe (1884–1885), under the direction of Dr. William Hayes Ward, of "The Independent." The purpose of this party was to explore and to describe sites rather than to excavate. The most interesting part of the report is in regard to Anbar, about which Dr. Ward says: "The

discovery of this city, which represents the Agade, or Sippara of Anunit, the Akkad of Genesis x, 10, the Persabora of classical geographers, and the Anbar of Arabic historians, is of the first importance." Dr. Ward has discussed this site at length in the January number of "Hebraica," 1886. He recommended Anbar, Niffer, and Warka for excavation, also mentioning Umm-el-Akarib, and the neighbouring Yokha as specially promising sites. While no excavation was attempted by the Catherine Wolfe Expedition, it laid the foundation for the collection belonging to the Metropolitan Museum in New York. It is also to be regarded as the forerunner of the expedition of the Babylonian Exploration Fund, sent out by the University of Pennsylvania.

In 1884 the French Government sent M. Dieulafoy and Messrs. Babin and Houssay upon an archæological mission to Susa. This expedition met with success, Dieulafoy sent the finds to Paris, and a special gallery has been set aside in the Louvre for their display.

In the winter of 1887 some Fellahin made a very important discovery at Tel-el-Amarna in Upper Egypt, on the eastern bank of the Nile, about midway between Minieh and Siout. These ruins represent the site of the Temple of Amenophis IV—i. e., Khu-en-Aten, the so-called "Heretic King" of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, about 1500 B. C.—the son of Amenophis III. In the early part of this century, when the scientific staff attached to the army of Napoleon, on the expedition to Egypt, were surveying and searching for materials for a complete map of Egypt—afterward edited by Jacotin—a number of Egyptian antiquities were found at Tel-el-Amarna, which, afterward, found their way into the different European museums. However valuable and important these early finds were, there can not be any comparison between them and the finds of 1887. No one knows exactly where or when these tablets were found, since the Arabs, as is customary, took care to obliterate all traces of their digging after their great find. During the winter of 1887 and 1888 about two

hundred of these tablets were offered for sale by native dealers. Afterward others were found. Various views have been given as to the total number of these tablets found, but the outside limit is perhaps three hundred and thirty. The British Museum secured eighty-two through Dr. Budge, the Gizeh Museum in Egypt about sixty, and the Berlin Museum about one hundred and sixty, of which a very large number are so fragmentary as to give little or no connected sense. The authorities of the Berlin Museum have published their collection, together with those at Gizeh, under the editorship of Drs. Winckler and Abel. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets in the British Museum are marked Bu. 88-10-13+, or Budge, the 13th of October, 1888. They have been edited by Drs. Bezold and Budge. In addition to those tablets which were secured by the different museums, a great many passed into the hands of private individuals, Turkish, Russian, and French officials, and missionaries.

In April, 1888, Messrs. Humann, Luschan, and Winter made excavations in Zinjirli under the auspices of the Berlin Oriental Committee. Zinjirli lies at the base of the Amanus Mountains, called by the Turks Giaour—east of the ridge—facing the Antioch plain. It is one of the narrowest parts of the plain, midway between Antioch and Marash. The work of excavation was renewed in 1890 and 1891, and extended to Gerjin, a large mound an hour and a quarter to the east of Zinjirli. The most important inscriptions discovered were: (1) The Monolith of Esarhaddon; (2) the Panammu statue, bearing an inscription in old Aramaic characters similar to those on the Mesha stone; (3) the Hadad inscriptions; and (4) the Building inscription.

The second American expedition to Babylonia was that of the Babylonian Exploration Fund, under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania. The sites for excavation, chosen by Dr. Peters, were Anbar, identified by the Catherine Wolfe Expedition with Sippar; Birs Nimrud (Borsippa) and Niffer or Nufar (Nippur). The last-named

site was the one finally selected. The conditions of excavation were those prescribed by the Turkish law. No concessions, or special permissions, were granted, except in the matter of the topographical map of the site to be excavated, which is generally required beforehand. A popular account of the first and second campaigns has been published by Dr. Peters, the director, under the title "Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates."

The Iradé granting permission to excavate—as given in Dr. Peters's "Nippur," I, Appendix C—reads as follows:

"In behalf of the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, the United States legation at Constantinople has applied for permission to excavate for antiquities at Birs Nimrod, in the district of Hilleh, and at a place called Tel Niffer, in the subdistrict of Divaniah, both belonging to the Vilayet of Baghdad; and subject to the following conditions this permission is herewith granted:

"1. According to the laws relating thereto, all the antiquities discovered shall revert to the Imperial Museum.

"2. The objects found shall be kept in a safe place appointed by the Government, through the commissioner, and the excavators shall not touch or meddle with them.

"3. Excavations shall not be begun until maps of the places to be excavated are approved by the Vali (governor-general) of the glorious city of Baghdad.

"4. Excavations shall not extend beyond the limits shown by the maps; nor shall excavations be made in more than one place at the same time.

"5. If there be discovered any attempt to defraud the Government in any way and by reason thereof the excavations be stopped, the excavators shall claim no damages for losses accruing from the delay.

"6. If excavations do not begin, or if begun are not finished, during the period for which this permission is granted, the excavators are obliged to obtain a new permission before they can prosecute further excavations.

"7. If, at the end of the excavations or before, the Government be duly notified, and the excavators are proved to have walked according to the statutes of the law, the bond-money deposited by the excavators shall be returned.

"8. If without good reason excavations do not begin within three months after this permission has been passed over to the excavators by the Vali of Baghdad, or if without good reason the excavations shall stop at any time for two months, this permission is null and void.

"9. The permission can not be transferred to another party or sold.

"10. The excavators shall pay the salary of the commissioner appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction to accompany them.

"Finally, the excavators shall strictly fulfil all the above conditions; then the excavators may purchase such part of the objects found as may seem superfluous to the Imperial Museum if, after the price has been agreed upon, the supreme court of Bab-el-Aali consent to the sale thereof.

"Therefore, for a period of two years to the above-mentioned trustees this as a permission has been given.

"Grand Vizier MEHMED KIAMIL BEN SALLIH,

"Minister of Public Instruction—Muniff.

"November 19, 1304; and First Spring 27, 1306."

The expedition left the United States in June, 1888, and arrived at Niffer on January 30, 1889. On account of the great importance of the results obtained, the following short descriptions, taken from "The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania," Volume I, Part II, edited by Professor Hilprecht, curator of the Babylonian Museum in the University of Pennsylvania, are given in full:

"In the first campaign (1888–1889) the staff were John P. Peters, director; Hermann V. Hilprecht and Robert Francis Harper, Assyriologists; J. H. Haynes, business manager, commissary, and photographer; Percy Hastings Field, architect; Daniel Noorian, interpreter; Bedry

Bey, commissioner of the Ottoman Government. The excavations occupied the time from February 6 to April 15, 1889, with a maximum force of two hundred Arabs. The principal results were: a trigonometrical survey of the ruins and their surroundings, an examination of the whole field by trial trenches, systematic excavations chiefly at Sections III, V, I, and X. Many clay coffins examined and photographed. Objects carried away: Over two thousand cuneiform tablets and fragments (among them three dated in the reign of King Ashuretililani of Assyria); a number of inscribed bricks; terra-cotta brick stamp of Naram-Sin; fragment of a barrel cylinder of Sargon of Assyria; inscribed stone tablet; several fragments of inscribed vases (among them two of King Lugalzaggisi of Erech); door-socket of Kurigalzu; about twenty-five Hebrew bowls; a large number of stone and terra-cotta vases of various sizes and shapes; terra-cotta images of gods and their ancient moulds; reliefs, figurines and toys in terra-cotta; weapons and utensils in stone and metal; jewelry in gold, silver, bronze, and various precious stones; a number of weights, seals, and seal cylinders, etc.

"In the second campaign (1889–1890) the staff were John P. Peters, director; J. H. Haynes, business manager, commissary, and photographer; Daniel Noorian, interpreter and superintendent of workmen; and an Ottoman commissioner. The excavations occupied the time from January 14 to May 3, 1890, with a maximum force of four hundred Arabs. The principal results were an examination of ruins by trial trenches and systematic excavations at Sections III, V, and X continued, a row of rooms on the southeast side of the ziggurrat and shrine of Bur-Sin II excavated. The objects carried away were about eight thousand cuneiform tablets and fragments (most of them dated in the reigns of the Cassite kings and of rulers of the second dynasty of Ur); a number of new inscribed bricks; three brick stamps in terra-cotta and three door-sockets in diorite of Sargon I; one brick stamp of Naram-Sin; sixty-one inscribed vase fragments of Alusharshid; two vase frag-

ments of Entemena of Shirpurla; one inscribed unhewn marble block and several vase fragments of Lugal-kigub-nidudu; a few vase fragments of Lugalzaggisi; two door-sockets in diorite of Bur-Sin II; over one hundred inscribed votive axes, knobs, intaglios, etc., presented to the temple by Cassite kings; about seventy-five Hebrew and other imscribed bowls; one enamelled clay coffin and many other antiquities similar in character to those excavated during the first campaign, but in greater number.

"In the third campaign (1893–1896) the staff were J. H. Haynes, director, etc., and an Ottoman commissioner; Joseph A. Meyer, architect and draughtsman, from June to November, 1894. The excavations occupied the time from April 11, 1893, to February 15, 1896 (with an interruption of two months, April 4 to June 4, 1894), with an average force of fifty to sixty Arabs. The principal results were systematic excavations at Sections III, I, II, VI–X, and searching for the original bed and banks of the Shatt-en-Nil; an examination of the lowest strata of the temple, three sections excavated down to the water level; a critical determination of the different layers of the basis of uncovered pavements and platforms; the later additions to the ziggurrat studied, photographed, and, whenever necessary, removed; the preserved portions of Ur-Gur's ziggurrat uncovered on all four sides; systematic study of the ancient system of Babylonian drainage; the two most ancient arches of Babylonia discovered; structures built by Naram-Sin and pre-Sargonic buildings and vases unearthed; about four hundred tombs of various periods and forms excavated, and their contents saved. The objects carried away were about twenty-one thousand cuneiform tablets and fragments (among them contracts dated in the reign of Dungi and Darius II and Artaxerxes Mnemon); many bricks of Sargon I and Naram-Sin; the first inscribed brick of Dungi in Nippur; fifteen brick stamps of Sargon I, one of Naram-Sin; inscribed torso of a statue in diorite (two thirds of life size, about 3000 B. C.), and fragments of other statues of the same period; incised votive tablet of Ur-Enlil; three un-

finished marble blocks of Lugal-kigub-nidudu, and over five hundred vase fragments of pre-Sargonic kings and patesis; about sixty inscribed vase fragments of Alush-arshid, one of Sargon, three of Entemena; one door-socket and one votive tablet of Ur-Gur; one votive tablet of Dungi; a number of inscribed lapis-lazuli disks of Cassite kings; fragment of a barrel cylinder of the Assyrian period; fragments of an old Babylonian terra-cotta fountain in high relief; water cocks; drain tiles; a collection of representative bricks from all the buildings found in Nippur; about fifty clay coffins and burial urns, and many other antiquities of a character similar to those excavated during the first two campaigns but in greater number and variety."

The Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople has recently been conducting excavations at Abu Habba (Sippar) with funds granted from the private purse of the Sultan. These excavations have been under the direction of Father Scheil and Bedry Bey, and important finds have been made.

The prospects for future excavations are very poor, for two chief reasons. The Turkish Government, in the person of Hamdy Bey, of the Stamboul Museum, has finally learned the value of these discoveries, and has passed a law that all antiquities are hereafter to be regarded as the property of the Sultan. The translation of the Turkish law on archæological excavations, which follows, is taken from Dr. Peters's "Nippur," Appendix D:

"ARTICLE I. The remains left by the ancient populations of the states forming at present the dominions of the Ottoman Empire—that is to say, the gold and silver and other ancient coins, and the inscriptions containing reference to history, and statues, and sepultures, and ornamental objects in clay, stone, and other materials, utensils, arms, tools, statuettes, ring-stones, temples, palaces, circuses, theatres, fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, bodies and objects in tombs, burying mounds, mausoleums and columns —are regarded as antiquities.

"ART. II. In general, the right of ownership of all the antiquities is regulated by the present law.

"ART. III. All the antiquities discovered in the Ottoman territory, be it on the surface, underground, or exhumed, picked up in the sea, the lakes, the rivers, the streams, or the valleys, are the property of the Government.

"ART. IV. The monuments of antiquity which happen to be in the property or houses of private persons, either loose or built in the walls, can not be moved by the proprietors of the property; and for the keeping of those antiquities the Government has inaugurated the following measures:

"ART. V. It is forbidden to destroy the antiquities which may be discovered on one's land, like buildings, roads, walls of castles and fortresses, baths, tombs, and other things; and in order not to occasion any damage to antiquities, they will refrain from establishing any lime-kiln at a distance less than half a kilometre from the spot where the antiquities are to be found; or from the erection of any kind of building and works which would be injurious; or to remove the stones of tumbled-down ancient monuments; from measuring or taking moulds; or of placing ladders on them for any purpose whatsoever; from appropriating or restoring old buildings and making use of them in part or in all; or to use them for deposits of grain, straw, or hay, or to use them as tanks, or for cattle, or turn them into fountains, or to use them for other purposes.

"ART. VI. The places on which the Government has decided to make excavations may be bought from their owners, if they are in the hands of private persons or socities; if they refuse to sell, the regulation on expropriation for public uses shall be applied in order to buy that property.

"ART. VII. No one is allowed to make excavations, to extract or appropriate antiquities in the Ottoman dominions without having previously obtained the official permit in accordance with the present regulation.

"ART. VIII. The exportation of antiquities found within Ottoman territory is absolutely forbidden.

"ART. IX. The permit for the excavation and exhumation of antiquities may be granted to private persons or to any scientific society. The terms of that permit must be in accordance with the conditions of the present regulation.

"ART. X. As to the searches and excavations for antiquities, after the opinion of the administration of the Imperial Museum and the conclusions of the Council of Public Instruction have been obtained, and after the Ministry of Public Instruction has submitted the case to the Sublime Porte, the final permit will be granted in accordance with the terms contained in the third chapter of the present regulation.

"ART. XI. A duplicate list describing the quantity and quality of the objects excavated must be made on the printed blanks to be furnished by the Ministry of Public Instruction, which must be signed and certified; then one of the copies will remain with the excavator and the other with the Board of Public Instruction; where such boards do not exist they will be recorded in the books kept for the purpose by the local authorities and sent to the Ministry of Public Instruction.

"ART. XII. The antiquities excavated with an official permit belong to the Imperial Museum, and the excavators have only the right to take drawings or moulds.

"ART. XIII. The antiquities discovered without permit are confiscated; and if the excavator has already disposed of them, he will pay their value.

"ART. XIV. The antiquities which may be discovered by accident in digging the foundations of a building or of a wall or of a sewer shall be divided in equal parts between the owner of the property and the Government; and then at the division of those antiquities, as the Government had the choice of taking such as it thinks proper on paying their value, it may get from the landowner, out of those which have fallen to his share, such a portion as it wants.

"ART. XV. Those who desire to undertake excavations of antiquities shall prepare a topographical plan showing the boundaries of the spot to be excavated, and present it at Constantinople to the Ministry of Public Instruction; and, if they are in the provinces of the governors-general, with written request, and the governors-general will forward it together with their report of their investigation of the subject to the Ministry of Public Instruction.

"ART. XVI. The delivery of the permit for excavation appertains to the Ministry of Public Instruction after agreement with the direction of the Imperial Museum, but unless the necessary investigations are made and, according to Article X, the consent of the Sublime Porte is obtained, this permit can not be given.

"ART. XVII. The permit for excavating antiquities can only be granted under the following conditions:

"1. After ascertaining that it will cause no obstruction to the forts, fortifications, or public buildings, nor interfere with public utility.

"2. If the excavations are to take place in the landed property of a private person, to satisfy the owner.

"3. The pecuniary security which shall be agreed upon by the director of the Imperial Museum must be actually deposited.

"After the fulfilment of those conditions, the Ministry of Public Instruction, after conforming to the prescriptions of the preceding article, delivers the permit.

"But no permit can be granted for more than two years. And if, before beginning the excavations, or even after having begun them, for some reason the period of the permit is allowed to pass and the explorer wants to continue his researches—if there is no objection, the Ministry of Public Instruction, after an agreement with the director of the museum, may grant a permit for an additional period not longer than one year.

"ART. XVIII. The Ministry of Public Instruction will collect on the permits of excavation on account of the museum: on a permit from one day to six months, five

liras; on a permit from six months to one year, ten liras; on a permit from one year to two years, twenty liras.

"ART. XIX. If, after having obtained the permit, the excavations are not commenced within the period of three months from its date, or after having commenced then they should be discontinued for two months, the permit will be annulled: and if the explorer wants to renew it the Ministry of Public Instruction, with the director of the museum, may continue or not the old permit, or cancel it and furnish a new one in its place.

"ART. XX. The permit for excavation shall not embrace a larger area than ten square kilometres. If after the commencement of the excavations an objection is found on the part of the Government, on the order of the Ministry of Public Instruction the works shall be temporarily stopped, and the time of stoppage shall be accounted for in the period of the permit, and the explorer will have no claim for expenses or damages on account of that stoppage.

"ART. XXI. At the place where excavations are to be made the Government will keep an able and capable official; and the travelling expenses and the salary of this official, after having been fixed by the authorities, will be collected from the excavators in full and paid to him monthly by the Treasurer of Public Instruction.

"If the excavations are finished before the expiration of the permit and the researches abandoned, the surplus of the money paid for the salary of the official shall be returned to the excavator.

"ART. XXII. No permit of excavation shall be granted to officials of the Ottoman or of a foreign government for excavations to be made within the district of their official post.

"ART. XXIII. The transfer by the recipient of a permit of excavation is forbidden.

"ART. XXIV. A person can not have permits for excavation in more than one place.

"ART. XXV. Those who by accident discover an-

tiquities are bound, if at Constantinople, to inform the Ministry of Public Instruction within five days, and if in the provinces, to inform the local authorities within ten days.

"ART. XXVI. At the expiration of the permit or at the termination of the excavations, when the excavator gives notice of it, if it is found that he has fulfilled all the conditions of the regulations, the money he has deposited as security will be returned to him in accordance with the receipt.

"ART. XXVII. The amount produced by seizures of antiquities, or on condemnation, from sales at public auction in accordance with the rule by an official auctioneer, and the money accruing from divisions with the owners of antiquities, and also fines, and fees of permits, and the product of confiscations, shall belong to the treasury of the museum.

"ART. XXVIII. The importation from abroad of any kind of antiquities is free and exempt from customs duties, and all kinds of antiquities which are to be transported from one district to another within the Ottoman dominions are exempt from internal duties.

"ART. XXIX. Permission for the re-exportation of antiquities introduced from abroad into the Ottoman dominions, and for the transportation from one district of the empire to another of antiquities found within the empire, can be obtained by drawing up a list of said antiquities by the owner and shipper and transmitting it to the director of the museum through the Ministry of Public Instruction; and in localities where there are no such boards or commissions, to the local authorities.

"The owner of antiquities introduced into the empire from abroad is bound within eight days to transmit a list of them, as before stated, to the administration of the museum through the Ministry of Public Instruction, and in the provinces to the Board or Commission of Public Instruction; and if there is no such board or commission, to the local authorities.

"ART. XXX. In any case the re-exportation of antiquities imported from abroad, and the transportation from one district of the empire to another of antiquities found within the empire, are necessarily subject to an official authorization, which can be procured from the Ministry of Public Instruction, with the agreement of the director of the museum.

"ART. XXXI. The antiquities exported without the special permit of the Ministry of Public Instruction shall, if captured, be seized or confiscated in the name of the museum.

"ART. XXXII. The granting of the official permission to export antiquities into foreign countries, though reserved to the Ministry of Public Instruction with the consent of the director of the museum, is subject to the following conditions:

"1. The museum should possess already a duplicate of the kind.

"2. It should be established that the said antiquities have been imported from a foreign country.

"ART. XXXIII. Those who appropriate antiquities found on the ground or exhumed, on private or government property, will be liable, in accordance with Article 138 of the Penal Code, to damages and a fine, and to imprisonment from one month to one year.

"ART. XXXIV. If those who have accidentally discovered some antiquities do not give notice of it, they, after being deprived of the share to which they had a right, are punished with a fine equal to one fourth of the value of their discovery; and if those antiquities are out of reach, besides the fine they will have to pay their total value.

"ART. XXXV. Those who, in transportation from one district to another of antiquities found within the empire, violate Article XXXII, will be subjected to a fine of from one to five Turkish pounds.

"ART. XXXVI. The lawsuits which may originate out of these regulations shall be heard in the ordinary courts of law.

"ART. XXXVII. The Ministry of Public Instruction is charged with the enforcement of the present regulations.

"The 23d of Rebbi-ul-Akhir, 1301, and 9th of February, 1299 (i. e., February 21, 1884, A. D.)."

These conditions can not be regarded as very generous. Again, the jealousy of the ambassadors of the principal powers at Constantinople has frustrated many attempts to obtain special and favourable firmans from the Sultan. On account of the greed of the Turks and the jealousy of the powers, there is little encouragement to attempt further work in excavating these Assyrian, Babylonian, and Hittite sites. Some of the most important ruins are in the most dangerous districts, in places over which the Turkish Government has no control—e. g., Ur, one of the first capitals of Babylonia, Senkereh, Warka, Niffer, etc. The Bedawin, in whose territory these sites lie, do not acknowledge the rule of the Turkish Government, and they are not the gentlest people in the world, as some of the experiences of the last American expedition go to prove.

The native Arabs have been excavating for many years, and with good results. There are in London one or two Arabs representing the dealers in Baghdad and Hilleh. The best-known dealer there was Joseph Shemtob, an Arab Jew. The University of Pennsylvania in 1888 purchased two large collections from Shemtob, and in 1889 another large collection from Shemtob's chief in Baghdad. These dealers always have in their possession a large number of tablets, about which they know nothing and for which they ask fabulous prices. It takes a long time to close a bargain with them, but gold seems to have a great charm for the Arabs, and after a few weeks they are generally content to take twenty-five per cent of the price originally asked.

The Decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions.—In the beginning of the seventeenth century accounts of the inscriptions in Persepolis were brought by travellers to Europe. The first of these accounts is that of the celebrated traveller, Pietro della Valle, in a letter from Schiraz, dated October 21, 1621. In 1674 Chardin copied the first com-

plete inscription, the so-called Window inscription, the shortest of the trilingual Achæmenian inscriptions. A copy of this may be found in his "Travels," published in 1711. This inscription was copied in 1694 by Kämpfer. He also copied the Babylonian text of the so-called Persepolis inscription H^2—in all twenty-five lines. In his work, published in 1712, Kämpfer discusses the nature of the newly discovered writing, and inquires whether it is alphabetic, syllabic, or ideographic, deciding in favour of the ideographic. Kämpfer was also the first to make use of the term cuneiform—i. e., wedge-shaped. In 1701 the Dutchman, de Bruin, began his travels. He devoted the year 1704 to the ruins of Persepolis. In 1714 he published two new trilingual inscriptions, besides one Old Persian and one Babylonian. Notwithstanding the publication of these new finds, nothing further was done toward their decipherment until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In 1762 the celebrated vase of Xerxes was found by Count Caylus, and the quadrilingual inscription on it containing the words "Xerxes, the Great King," was published in the same year. The important rôle played by these vase inscriptions will be noticed later.

In 1765 Carsten Niebuhr copied in Persepolis several Achæmenian inscriptions. He also distinguished forty-two different signs, which he correctly called letters. From 1798 Tychsen and Münter carried on the work begun by Niebuhr, and published their scanty results in 1802. In the same year, on September 14th, Georg Friedrich Grotefend placed his discoveries before the Society of Sciences in Göttingen. Grotefend was the first to decipher a complete inscription. His discoveries did not at once receive the notice which they merited, and it was not until the Parisian Arabist, Silvestre de Sacy, published his accounts of them that they attracted attention.

The following short account of Grotefend's method of work is, for the most part, from Friedrich Delitzsch's appendices in the German edition of George Smith's "Chal-

dean Genesis." As toward the end of the eighteenth century new and more trustworthy copies of inscriptions arrived in Europe, their study was taken up again, and in 1802 Grotefend, of Hanover, published the first translation of a cuneiform text—viz., of a Persian Achæmenian inscription. His genius succeeded, by combinations as bold as they were ingenious, in paving the way for further discoveries. The old authors told him that the palaces of Persepolis, out of whose ruins the inscriptions came, had been built by Achæmenian kings. The Pehlevi inscriptions, scattered over these same ruins, and deciphered by de Sacy, led to the expectation that something somewhat analogous would be found in the cuneiform. Grotefend had already learned the direction in which these inscriptions were to be read—viz., from left to right. He chose for his work two small ones—the first of which had been engraved on a door-post of a building on the second palace terrace of Persepolis, and the second on the wall of a building on the third terrace. Münter had already, by chance, noted in the inscriptions a word which was often repeated, and he had decided that this word must have the meaning of "king." This same word was also found in the two inscriptions of Grotefend, which were almost alike. The only difference was that in the first inscription a group of signs, which we may call A, preceded the word for "king," and in the second a group which we may call B; and further that in the second, A and the word for "king" following it were repeated, while in the first a group of signs (C) without the title of king corresponded to A. Accordingly, the two inscriptions had some such form as this:

I. A king..... C .....
II. B king..... A king.....

From this Grotefend drew the conclusion that these groups of signs contained proper names, standing in a genealogical relation to each other. A must be the father of B, C the father of A, and, while A as well as B were kings, C, because the title was ever wanting after his name, was not born a king. According to this, A seemed to be

the founder of a dynasty. The kings were Achæmenian, and hence only two things were possible: A contained either the name of Cyrus or that of Darius. The first possibility was discarded at once, because the father as well as the son of Cyrus was named Cambyses, and hence the groups of signs, B and C, must have been the same. Again, group A was too long for Cyrus. Accordingly, Darius was all that was left for A, and Grotefend, taking into consideration the forms of these names known to the Greeks, Hebrews, and Persians, read:

A: D-a-r-h-w-u-sch = Darius.
B: Kh-sch-h-a-r-sch-a = Xerxes.
C: V-i-sch-t-a-s-p = Hystaspes.

And translated the inscriptions:

"Xerxes, the mighty king, king of kings, son of Darius, the king."

"Darius, the mighty king, king of kings * * * son of Hystaspes."

Later investigations showed that he had read these signs correctly. There was only one mistake—the "h" should have been read "j." The correctness of his method of decipherment was confirmed, beyond all doubt, by the vase mentioned above. On this there is a quadrilingual inscription. The first is written in Egyptian hieroglyphs, and was deciphered by Champollion as the name of Xerxes. The other three are in cuneiform characters, the first of which, the Old Persian, corresponded exactly to the group on the Persepolis inscription, which Grotefend read Xerxes. All later investigations are based on the discovery of Grotefend. Thirty years later (1836), Burnouf and Lassen took up the work. Lassen did great service to the young science by his discovery in one of the Darius inscriptions of a list of peoples which added much new material for the recognition of new values of the signs, and rendered it possible, for the first time, not only to read the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, but also to explain them from a philological standpoint. The theory of Grotefend that the language of these inscriptions and that of the Avesta were

exactly similar was proved to be wrong. From this time on, new discoveries in both the grammar and the lexicon were made, from time to time, by such men as Beer, Holtzmann, Westergaard, and others, but the material at hand was altogether too limited to permit any great advances.

It was the good fortune of Henry Rawlinson to discover this material. In 1835, while a resident in the East, Rawlinson began his study of the cuneiform inscriptions. At first his work was quite independent of Grotefend's. From an examination of the inscriptions of Elvend, near Hamadan, without any assistance from Grotefend's work, he found the names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Cyrus. In the spring of 1836, while in Teheran, he first became acquainted with the works of his predecessors—that of Grotefend in the third edition (1815) of Heeren's "Ideen," and of Saint Martin in Klaproth's "Aperçu de l'origine des diverses écritures" (Paris, 1832). He found, however, that he was already, as the result of his own study, further advanced than Grotefend. In 1837 he copied, for the first time, a large part of the Persian text of the Behistun inscription—viz., the whole of Column I, the first paragraph of Column II, and 1–10 of Column III, besides four small inscriptions. On January 1, 1838, he sent his first translations, with notes, to London, and they were brought to notice on May 12, 1838, by Sir Gore Ouseley, in a meeting of the Asiatic Society. Rawlinson's first report was not published at that time. Gildemeister, of Bonn, has printed the most important part in Volume XXVI of the "Journal of the German Oriental Society" (Leipsic). In 1839 he was called into active service in the war with the Afghans, and it was 1843 before he could again return to his copying. In 1844 he finished the first inscription—i. e., the Old Persian—and in 1847 he copied the Babylonian text. During the following year he worked out the basis of all later decipherment. In 1849 he returned to England with the manuscript containing the Babylonian text of this trilingual inscription, and in 1850 he presented to the Royal

Asiatic Society a translation of the Assyrian inscription found on the famous Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser. In 1851 the printing of his "Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions" was finished. This contains the cuneiform text, the transliteration and translation of the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription (one hundred and twelve long lines, the middle of most of which has been rendered unreadable on account of the long-continued trickling of water over them), together with a commentary and an analysis of the first thirty-seven lines. "The list of signs added to the above contains two hundred and forty-six numbers, with the addition of phonetic values (and also ideographic), most of which have turned out to be correct." In 1852 Rawlinson was sent by the English Government as consul-general to Baghdad. He was given power by the authorities of the British Museum to conduct excavations wherever he found favourable sites. In 1855 he returned to England, and has since remained there, with the exception of a short diplomatic trip to Persia in 1858.

"The year 1857 is memorable in the annals of Assyriology. In that year the Royal Asiatic Society of London proposed a test of the genuine character of the translations offered by scholars of the Assyrian inscriptions. It was as follows: Eight hundred lines of cuneiform writing, recently found by Layard on clay cylinders, at Qal'at Sherkat, not far from the site of Nineveh, were to be independently translated by any scholars who would come forward and accept the proposal; the results of their work were to be sent, sealed, to the secretary of the society, and the packets were to be opened on the same day before a commission, which should report on the points of resemblance or unlikeness to be found in the translations. This proposal was made public in March, and on May 25th four packets were opened, containing the work of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert. The general similarity of the results in the four essays formed a strong confirmation of the genuineness of the trans-

lations and the correctness of the method of decipherment, which even such a sceptic as M. Renan freely admitted."

Henry Rawlinson is, in every sense of the word, the "Father of Assyriology." He was the first to make the discovery of an inscription of any length and importance, and he was the first to translate an Assyrian inscription. His discoveries, although somewhat dependent on those of Grotefend, were on the other hand practically independent.

Passing over Löwenstern, de Saulcy, Longpérier, and others, we come to the Irishman, Edward Hincks (died December 3, 1866, at Killeleagh, County Down, Ireland). In 1849 Hincks read a paper before the Irish Academy on the Khorsabad inscriptions, in which he dealt chiefly with the ideograms of the Assyro-Babylonian, and with the chronology of the Assyrians. In 1856 an appendix to the foregoing, containing "Addenda and Corrigenda," was printed. In all probability this appendix was printed in 1850, but the complete volume of the "Transactions" of the Academy did not appear until 1855. The most important discovery in this appendix is that the so-called Homophones—i. e., signs with the same value—for the single consonants were in reality different signs, some of which had a vowel before them and others a vowel after them; or, to be more explicit, in the case of the seven accepted signs for the consonant b, the values ab, ib, ub, ba, bi, be, and bu were to be sharply distinguished from each other. This was a great gain for the decipherment of the Assyrian. The list of signs was, on account of this discovery, quite different from the one proposed by de Saulcy and by Hincks himself in his earlier writings. The phonetic complement was discovered independently by both Hincks and Rawlinson. This so-called complement is a sign attached to an ideogram to indicate the reading of the ideogram, e. g., IS. KU = both kakku and tukultu. When the ideogram is to be read tukultu, we have, in almost every case, the phonetic complement tu, ti, or ta added to the IS. KU to indicate this reading. The compound syllabic values were first noted by Hincks—viz., signs having values con-

sisting of a consonant + a vowel + a consonant, as dan (= da + an), bul (= bu + ul), etc. The so-called "allophones," or "polyphones"—i. e., characters that can be read in two or more different ways; e. g., dan, kal, lab, rib, all values of one sign—were first observed by Rawlinson. Cf. also u-u-kit, to be read u-sham-kit.

With Hommel, the history of the investigations from 1851 on can be divided into two periods, with Hincks and Oppert as the leaders of the first. During this period all that had been done before was arranged philologically, and new facts gathered from new inscriptions were added to those already known. In 1868, 1870, and 1872 appeared the first three volumes of Edwin Norris's "Assyrian Dictionary." During this time Volumes I to IV of "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia" were published by Rawlinson, Norris, and George Smith.

Schrader, the father of Assyriology in Germany, may be regarded as the connecting link between these two periods, belonging neither to the first nor to the second. His great service to the science has been from the standpoint of history and not of philology.

The second period begins with Friedrich Delitzsch and continues to the present time. The characteristic feature of this period is the close and strictly philological work done by Delitzsch and his school. When Delitzsch commenced the study of Assyrian, "Assyriology was in a state of slavish dependence on Arabic lexicography." He soon became convinced that Arabic was not so important to the study of Assyrian as the north Semitic languages, the Hebrew and the Aramaic dialects. He was the first to make any real attempt to explain the vocabulary of the Assyrians by means of the usage of words in the Assyrian texts. In other words, instead of slavishly following the lexicons of the Arabic, Hebrew, etc., and giving Arabic meanings to roots in Assyrian containing the same radicals, he studied the language from its own literature, calling the cognates to his assistance only when it was necessary. All the historical inscriptions have been retranslated and explained

philologically. Much good work has been done in the mythical texts (Haupt, Jensen); the religious literature (Zimmern, Tallqvist, Sayce, etc.); the contract tablets (Strassmaier, Tallqvist, Peiser, and others); syllabaries (Delitzsch); astronomical tablets (Oppert, Sayce, Epping, Strassmaier, and Thompson); letters (Smith, Delitzsch, and others). There still remains a great deal to be done.

Land and People.—It is very difficult to define the exact boundaries of Babylonia and Assyria, since these varied so greatly at different periods in their history In general, we may say that they occupied the region watered by the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Babylonia lay to the south and occupied the alluvial plain between the two rivers from the point where they most nearly approach each other on the north to the Persian Gulf on the south. Her natural boundaries were the Tigris on the east, the Arabian Desert on the west, the Persian Gulf on the south, and the Assyrian highlands on the north. The length of Babylonia was about three hundred miles; the greatest breadth about one hundred and twenty-five miles; the area about twenty-five thousand square miles. The boundaries of Assyria were the mountain chains of Armenia and Kurdistan on the north and east, Babylonia on the south, and the country watered by the Tigris on the west. The area of Assyria was about seventy-five thousand square miles—about three hundred and fifty miles in length, and varying in breadth from one hundred and seventy-five to three hundred miles.

The Tigris and Euphrates Rivers were the chief physical features of these countries. The part of Assyria to the east of the Tigris was rough. It was, however, well supplied with water and very fertile. The part to the west was larger in extent, but poorly watered and barren. The whole of Babylonia was well watered by the rivers and a fine system of canals, and the fertility of the country has received much comment from both Oriental and classical writers.

The principal cities of Babylonia were Eridu (Abu-Shahrein), Ur (Mugheir), Larsa (Senkereh), Erech

(Warka), Shirpurla or Lagash (Tello), Isin and Maru (the sites of which have not yet been identified), in the south; and Babylon (near Hilleh), Borsippa (Birs Nimrud), Kutha (Tel-Ibrahim), Sippar (Abu Habba), Kish, Nippur (Niffer, Nufar), and Agade in the north.

The chief cities of Assyria were Asshur (Qal'at Sherkat), its earliest capital; Nineveh (Kouyunjik and Nebbi-Yunus), Calah (Nimrud), Dur-Shargina (Khorsabad), Arba'il (Arbela), Imgur-Bel (Tel-Balawat), and Tarbis (Sherif-Khan). Asshur was the only city of importance on the western side of the Tigris.

The Babylonians and Assyrians were Semites, and more closely allied to the northern group than to the southern. The home of the Semites is still a disputed question. No definite statement can be made about the time when they settled in southern Babylonia, nor do we know the region from which they came. The southern part of the Mesopotamian Valley seems to have been occupied before the arrival of the Babylonians by a non-Semitic people whom we may designate as Sumerians. The Semitic Babylonians gradually dispossessed this people, adopting, in a great measure, their religion and gods, their customs and their script, the so-called cuneiform. The Babylonians were a mixed type. They were small of stature and of a peaceful disposition, preferring agriculture and trade to the pursuit of war. The Assyrians were a purer Semitic type, larger, fiercer, more brutal, and more warlike. The Babylonians were very religious and extremely superstitious, with a large number of gods and demons. The Assyrians were religious but less superstitious. Their religion was derived from the Babylonians, but it was early modified and nationalized by them. Ashur, their national god, who gave his name to both city and country, was set above all the Babylonian deities. It was with his troops and under his protection that the Assyrian monarchs made war against his enemies. The other gods of the Assyrian Pantheon were subordinated to him, each one, however, receiving due honour and position.

The Babylonians were a literary people, and made great use of the non-Semitic literature of their Sumerian predecessors. The Assyrians, on the other hand, were not literary, and with the exception of the Historical Inscriptions, which can hardly be called literature, they have left us very little. They were, however, great coypists and editors, and they appropriated to themselves the literature of their more original, cultured, and learned relatives in the south. In fact, our knowledge of Babylonian literature is due, in great part, to the Assyrian copies made in the time of their great king, Ashurbanipal.

The language of the two peoples is generally referred to as Assyrian. It is Semitic and more closely related to the Phœnician, Aramaic, and Hebrew of the northern group than to the Arabic of the southern. The Babylonians pronounced a few consonants in a way different from the Assyrians. These differences were not of enough importance to warrant the distinction of two dialects. As stated above, both Babylonians and Assyrians made use of the non-Semitic Sumerian script, and hence their method of writing differed from the other Semitic peoples in being ideographic and syllabic rather than alphabetic.

The materials on which the literature of Babylonia and Assyria is written are clay, stone, and metal. The most common material was clay, which was carefully selected by the scribes so as to be free from sand. It was washed and rolled, and then cut and pressed into the various sizes desired by the scribes. "For writing, a stick of boxwood was used, one end of which was cut into an exact square; this end of the stylus was cut away obliquely, so that one of the corners of the end formed a somewhat acute angle. The stylus was held like a pen, and the pressure was applied chiefly to the upper edge in the direction of the point, with a slight inclination toward the left. When the tablet was very large, small wooden pegs were inserted into the blank spaces of the inscribed side before turning, in order to prevent obliteration of the writing. These pegs were consumed during the process of baking. After the writing

was finished the tablet was dried by exposing it to the sun for a day or two. About a week after drying it was placed in the oven, probably protected by some earthen case to preserve its coming in direct contact with the flame" (Haupt).

Some of the Assyrian Historical Inscriptions are engraved on slabs, monuments, bulls, lions, etc. Others are written with the stylus on prismoids and cylinders. The Babylonian Historical Inscriptions were generally written on the so-called Barrel-cylinders. An important exception is the East India House Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar, which was cut in stone. But clay was the most common writing material.

The Historical Inscriptions.—The Historical Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria are not literature in any true sense of the term. The Assyrian deal chiefly with campaigns and lists of cities and peoples captured, the booty taken, the treatment of the prisoners, and the tribute and taxes imposed on the conquered countries. The Babylonian, on the other hand, with few exceptions, make no mention of the wars and campaigns of the king, but give elaborate accounts of his building and repairing cities, temples, palaces, walls, streets, canals, etc. The Royal Inscriptions of the Assyrians may be divided into three classes: Annals; History of Wars; and what may be called Laudatory texts. It may be noted that the first two classes are also Laudatory.

1. The Annals correspond, in some degree, to the Books of Kings. The events of each year of the reign of a king are related in chronological order. There are not many such texts. The most complete is the Black Obelisk Inscription of Shalmaneser II, which deals in regular order with the events of thirty-one years. The Annals of Sargon II and those of Ashurnaçirpal are the next in importance. The first has to do with fourteen years, and the second with seventeen. The Annals of Tiglath-pileser III cover seventeen years, but they are very poorly preserved. The Prism Inscription of Tiglath-pileser I is so arranged for five years.

These Annals are a most important source of information. They are, in fact, good native histories.

2. The War Texts deal with periods rather than years, as some of the wars cover many years. As a rule these wars are arranged chronologically. In some cases, however, the arrangement is geographical. Here belong the Monolith of Shamshi-Ramman IV, the Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib, which describes eight expeditions, the third of which was against Hezekiah of Judah, and the different cylinders of Ashurbanipal.

3. Those who are hostile to the Assyrian school of history are inclined to lay great stress on the so-called Laudatory texts. In fact, they would have only one classification, and all the Royal Texts would fall under the heading Laudatory texts. There are many of these. A single example will be sufficient: "Sargon, the governor of Bel, the exalted priest of Ashur, the darling of Anu and Dagan, the great king, the powerful king, the king of the world, the King of Assyria, the king of the four quarters of the world, the favourite of the great gods, the legitimate ruler, to whom Ashur and Marduk granted a kingdom without equal, and the fame of whose name they sent forth to the ends of the earth, etc." These texts become very monotonous, but we must take into consideration the fact that their authors were Semites, Orientals, who delight in exaggeration, and also that these great Assyrian kings were really lords of almost all the territory known to them. How insignificant were the Hebrews as a temporal power when compared with the Assyrians and Babylonians! Esarhaddon ruled over Assyria, Babylonia, the Hittites, the West Country, Egypt, and some of the islands of the Mediterranean. Such a king had the right to use extravagant language. In these Laudatory texts we find only one side of the history of an event. Victories are related and defeats suppressed. These inscriptions are, nevertheless, of great importance for the history of Assyria.

The Royal Inscriptions of the Babylonians are chiefly concerned with buildings and pious deeds. Compare, how-

ever, the Annals of Nabonidus and the Cylinder of Cyrus. The latter relates the capture of Babylon, the restoration of the shrines and city, and the pacific policy adopted by the captor.

The trilingual inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings, apart from their first great service in the field of philology, furnish the historian with important data. They recount deeds of valour and building enterprises of the Persian monarchs. Along with frequent genealogical references, there are some important lists. In the great Inscription of Darius we have a vivid picture of the uprisings during the troublous times in the early part of the monarch's reign. The literary style of these inscriptions differs greatly from that of the historical inscriptions of the classical period, and some of the more general marks of distinction can be seen even in a translation.

In addition to the Wars of the Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and the Buildings of the Babylonian, we find other interesting particulars. Most of the Assyrian Inscriptions begin with an invocation to the gods which is followed by a long list of the titles and attributes of the king. They close with a request to the gods to bless those who look after their inscriptions and to curse those who do not. The Babylonian, on the other hand, introduce the king, and after a recital of his buildings and pious works, close with a fervent prayer for offspring, power, and a long reign.

Among other very important sources of historical information may be mentioned:

First, the Lists of Babylonian kings. As yet these lists are very fragmentary, and hence their value is not considerable. They give us, however, the names of the kings of two or three dynasties in their regular order and add a few general remarks in regard to them. Rassam obtained a tablet at Babylon containing three hundred to three hundred and fifty names of kings, but this tablet is so poorly preserved that only thirty of these names are legible. Among these, however, is to be found the name of the

celebrated Hammurabi. The greater part of his dynasty follows, with the number of years of the reign of each king.

Second, the so-called Eponym Lists, of the Assyrian Eponym Canon. Compare, for a full discussion of this source of information, George Smith's "Assyrian Eponym Canon," from which I quote freely. "In Assyria the practice of dating documents according to the regnal years of the reigning monarchs was seldom used, by far the greater number of inscriptions being dated by the names of certain officers called by the Assyrians limmu—a word which, by general consent, is translated 'eponym.' The Assyrian limmu or eponyms were appointed according to a general rotation; and each one in succession held office for a year and gave name to that year, the usage of the Assyrians in this respect being similar to the archons at Athens and the consuls at Rome. Originally the majority of the Assyrian eponyms were governors of the principal towns and districts, and this leads to the inference that the eponyms were an institution dating from the time when Assyria consisted of a confederacy of small states, before the rise of the Assyrian Empire. This would make the eponyms very ancient, their foundation probably being as early as 2000 B. C." There were altogether about thirty functionaries, officers and governors, who held the right of being eponyms; and it is probable that when all had served their terms, the king took a second eponymy and started the series afresh. Sir Henry Rawlinson was the discoverer of the so-called Eponym Canon tablets. He found them among the tablets brought by Layard from Nineveh. He first described his discovery in the "London Athenæum," Nos. 1805 and 1812, May 30 and July 19, 1862. He distinguished four copies of the Assyrian Canon, all imperfect, which he numbered I, II, III, IV, but, since his discovery of these, several new fragments have been found. All of these documents, so far as they are preserved, closely agree. Some contain lists of the eponyms in their chronological order, and others add to these names the titles of the eponyms and short notices of the principal events during

their terms of office. Lists have been preserved from the time of Ramman-Nirari II (911–890 B. C.) down to the reign of Ashurbanipal (669–625 B. C.).

Third, the so-called Synchronous Tablets—i. e., tables giving a short account of the relations of Babylonia and Assyria. This synchronous history of Assyria and Babylonia is of great importance, and is thoroughly trustworthy. It is written by an Assyrian rather than a Babylonian, and hence the colouring is Assyrian. It deals with the relations of the two countries between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the fourteenth century, and from the middle of the thirteenth to the beginning of the eleventh.

Fourth, the Babylonian Chronicle, which furnishes similar information for the period from about 775 to 669 B. C.

There is also much history to be found in the Letters, Contracts, Boundary Stones, Prayers to the Sun-God, and other inscriptions which are not classified as historical.

The Tel-el-Amarna Letters.—Egypt has always been full of surprises for the archæologist, but none has been more startling than the discovery, within her confines, of a collection of tablets inscribed in the language and languages hitherto supposed to belong almost exclusively to Mesopotamia and Babylonia.

As may be imagined, these tablets created a great sensation among Assyriologists. They have been found to consist chiefly of letters and despatches to two Egyptian kings, whose names in these inscriptions are Nimmuriya and Naphuriya. The Nimmuriya or Mimmuriya—and even Immuriya occurs—is to be identified with Amenophis III. We have the following from a letter of Tushratta to Amenophis IV: "And now I say that just as I was in friendship with Mimmuriya, thy father, so also will I be more than ten times so with Naphuriya." Naphuriya is certainly to be identified with Amenophis IV, and is to be regarded as the Babylonian form of Nefer-Cheperu-Ra, and Mimmuriya as the father of Amenophis IV, and not the grandfather. Professor Erman, of Berlin, was the first authority to identify these two names with the Third and

Fourth Amenophises of the eighteenth dynasty—viz., Neb-ma-ra and Nefer-Cheperu-Ra. Several of these letters refer to the wife of Amenophis III—i. e., the mother of Amenophis IV, viz., Queen Te-i-e. Again, several are simply addressed to the "King of Egypt," without any further designation. These would fall, however, within the time of the two Amenophises.

From the time of Thothmes III, southwestern Asia had been subject to the monarchs of Egypt. This supremacy had resulted in numerous friendly and many domestic ties, in close commercial relations, and in many political entanglements of a serious nature. In the administration of their Asiatic possessions these kings conducted an extensive correspondence. The documents found in this collection hail from these, among other places: one from Burraburiash, King of Karduniash (= Burnaburiash, King of Babylon), to Amenophis IV; one from the King of Alashiya to the King of Egypt; letters from Tushratta, King of Mitani, to Amenophis III of Egypt. We have also letters from the Phœnician and Syrian cities of Byblos, Beyrut, Tyre, Accho; letters from these among other individuals in Phœnicia and Syria—viz., Abd-Ashirta, Aziru, Shubandi. Palestinian cities also contribute a number of interesting letters. Of these we note especially those from the governor of Gezer, the governor of Ashkelon, from Ursa, and six from Jerusalem.

These and many others give us a picture of the social and political status of western Asia in a period about which we formerly knew little. We learn that, in spite of domestic ties and close commercial relations, the faithful subjects of Egypt were hard pressed by the enemies of Egypt's crown. The cries for help found in these letters show us that the day was not far distant when Egypt should be compelled either to strengthen her Asiatic garrisons and fortresses, or to surrender her claims on Asiatic territory.

No less interesting are the marriage contracts between the royal families of Egypt and Asia. The results of these, as seen in the career of Amenophis IV, influenced and

finally determined every other relation between the contracting peoples. In fact, the one cause of the unpopularity of Amenophis IV, of his withdrawal from Thebes, and construction of his city, temple, and palace on the site of the modern Tel-el-Amarna, was his undisguised preference for Asiatic gods and worship, and for the peoples of the land of his wife, who was an Asiatic princess.

These tablets are peculiar in size, shape, and style of writing. The clay of which they are made is different from that found in other Babylonian tablets, being coarse and gritty as a rule. The kind of clay of which a tablet is made often plays an important part in indicating the country from which it came. Bezold and Budge say that "in colour the tablets vary from a light to a dark dust tint, and from a flesh colour to dark brick-red. Only a few of them have been baked. The others are all sun-dried." In form the majority are rectangular, but some are oval. Some are flat on both sides and others convex. In a great many cases the writing is careless, and only one side of the tablet is inscribed. Many different styles of writing are used, including every class and variety of form of cuneiform characters known, with the exception of the complicated characters found in some of the old Babylonian texts. Budge and Bezold describe it as follows: "The writing on the Tel-el-Amarna tablets resembles, to a certain extent, the Neo-Babylonian—i. e., the simplification of the writing of the first Babylonian Empire, used commonly in Babylonia and Assyria for about seven centuries B. C. It possesses, however, characteristics different from those of any other style of cuneiform of any period now known to exist; and nearly every tablet contains forms of characters which have hitherto been thought peculiar to the Ninevite or Assyrian style of writing." Very often the characters resemble those on the so-called Cappadocian tablets which have been described by Sayce. They belong to the fifteenth century, and they antedate the birth of Moses at least one hundred years. There are a few of these Cappadocian tablets in the University of

Pennsylvania collection, purchased by Mr. Peters in Constantinople.

Again, the language of these inscriptions is peculiar. It is not good Babylonian. It is forced and often contains non-Semitic words and constructions. Bezold and Budge say, "It supplies a number of new words and forms, and exhibits peculiar grammatical constructions, the existence of which has been hitherto unsuspected, and which have a close affinity to the language of the Old Testament." In other words, Babylonian was the lingua franca, the diplomatic language of western Asia and also of Egypt. Some of them, however, are written in very poor Babylonian.

But this is not all. Some of the tablets from Mitani, which must be located in Mesopotamia, just east of Carchemish, the capital of the Hittite empire, were written in Babylonian, and others in an altogether different language. The first to notice this different language was the indefatigable Sayce, who has been from the first a pioneer in the decipherment of cuneiform and Hittite inscriptions. In the January "Academy," 1890, p. 64, he calls attention to the "language of Mitannu." Some of these tablets are written in a non-Semitic language, but with the cuneiform characters, just as a great many people write German letters or despatches in the Latin script. I think that this is one of the most interesting points connected with these Tel-el-Amarna tablets. In the fifth volume, second and third numbers (August, 1890), of the "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," this so-called Mitani language has been discussed by Jensen, Brünnow, and Sayce.

In these texts we find the peculiarity of dividing words at the end of a line. These divisions are of the rarest occurrence in other Babylonian tablets. The whole subject of language has been taken up most thoroughly by Dr. Bezold in his book on "Oriental Diplomacy."

Editions of these texts have been published by the authorities of the Berlin and British Museums; Dr. Carl Bezold has, under the title "Oriental Diplomacy" (1893),

published the texts of the latter museum in transliteration, with summaries of their contents, a grammatical analysis, and a glossary; and Dr. Hugo Winckler, of Berlin, has published, in Schrader's "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," the transliterated text with parallel translation of all the Amarna tablets.

Assyrian and Babylonian Letters.[1]—The Assyro-Babylonian letter tablets that have come down to us comprise a large number of documents differing greatly in contents and scope. Most of them owe their preservation to the fact that they formed part of the royal or temple archives, and for this reason they are usually of an official character. Until recent years the letters and despatches received rather scant attention. The mass of cuneiform literature rescued from the ruins of ancient Assyrian and Babylonian cities is of immense extent, while the number of Assyriologists has never been very large. For obvious reasons, the numerous historical, religious, and grammatical texts could not fail to excite deep interest and to attract the zealous study of Oriental scholars. Under these circumstances it was but natural that the letter texts, in spite of their great value, should be neglected in favour of the more important inscriptions just mentioned.

The first scholar to make use of the epistolary tablets was George Smith, who, in the year 1871, published extracts from some ten of them in his "History of Ashurbanipal." Historical writers like Hommel and Tiele made free use in their works of such letters as were of importance for their subject; but, until the year 1887, very little was done toward the special study of this branch of Assyro-Babylonian literature. In 1887–'89 an American, Mr. Samuel Alden Smith, published, in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology," and in the second and third parts of his "Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipal's," sixty-nine texts copied from the best-preserved letter tablets of the British Museum, with transliteration, translation, and philological notes. Mr. Smith unfortunately lacked the neces-

[1] This section was written by Prof. Christopher Johnston.

sary philological knowledge, and while he added greatly to the available material for study, did very little to elucidate the subject. Of a widely different character was the work of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, the founder of the Leipsic School of Assyriology, who published in the "Beiträge zur Assyriologie" (1889–'91) a series of three papers in which he gave the transliterated text of forty letters, with admirable translations, and a full commentary. Very many difficult forms and expressions are here explained for the first time, and the effect of Professor Delitzsch's work was to provide a sure foundation for the elucidation of Assyrian and Babylonian letters.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in the way of a successful study of the Letter texts was the absence of sufficient available material upon which to work. While comparatively few of these texts were published, and while the great mass of those in the British Museum were not even catalogued according to their contents, the task was a hopeless one; but the difficulty has happily been removed. The catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection prepared by Dr. Carl Bezold, of which the first volume appeared in 1889, has rendered it possible to select these texts from the many thousands composing the collection; and an American scholar, Mr. Robert Francis Harper, of the University of Chicago, has been prompt to take advantage of the fact. Aided by Bezold's catalogue, he has copied nearly all of these texts, and a portion of the results of his labour has been given to the world in the four volumes of his "Assyrian and Babylonian Letters of the K Collection" (1892–'96), containing four hundred and thirty-five carefully edited letters derived, not only from the K Collection, but also from the other collections of the British Museum. The material collected is far from being exhausted in these volumes. This has, however, greatly stimulated the interest of Assyriologists in the subject, and, in addition to a number of briefer communications, more elaborate articles upon the Assyro-Babylonian epistolary literature have been published in 1896 by Dr.

George Ricker Berry, of the University of Chicago, and in 1897–'98 by the present writer.

For a long time the only letters known to Assyriologists were those of the Sargonide period, but far more ancient texts are now available. Dr. Bruno Meissner published in the "Beiträge zur Assyriologie," in 1894, four ancient Babylonian letters from the Berlin collections, and called attention to the fact that a considerable number of such letters exist in the Berlin and British Museums. Many of these are business letters derived from the archives of temples and private banking firms. The Babylonian temples, it should be remembered, in addition to their purely religious functions, were influential corporations, and conducted extensive commercial and industrial enterprises. Mr. Leonard W. King, of the British Museum, published in his book, "The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi," fifty-six letters dating back into the third millennium B. C.

The most important letter texts of the pre-Sargonide period are undoubtedly the tablets found at Tel-el-Amarna in Upper Egypt, in the winter of 1887–'88. They consist of letters and despatches addressed to Amenophis III, and to his son and successor Amenophis IV, by Asiatic monarchs, among them Burnaburiash, King of Babylon, and Ashur-uballit, King of Assyria, both previously known from the cuneiform inscriptions, and by the prefects and governors of a large number of towns in Syria and Phœnicia.

The letters of the Sargonide period are, with few exceptions, of an official character. They contain letters of kings to members of their families, and to various high officers of the empire; reports of governors of provinces, and of military and civil officers; proclamations; petitions; reports of priests on omens terrestrial and celestial; astronomical reports; reports of physicians concerning patients under their care; they represent, in short, nearly every species of epistolary composition. These texts, varying in length from six or seven to sixty or seventy lines, pro-

ceed from a great variety of writers of different stations in life, and come from every part of the great Assyrian Empire. They are composed, not in the classical language of the historical inscriptions and the poetical texts, but in the colloquial speech prevailing at the time they were written. Much, of course, depends upon the subject-matter and the personality of the writer. The soldier, the priest, the physician, the astrologer, has each his technical terms and his peculiar forms of expression. Words and forms abound which are only met with in this branch of cuneiform literature, and the long and flowing periods of the classical texts are here replaced by terser forms of speech. The syntactical construction is less rigid, while the employment of shorter sentences and the more frequent use of the particles render the style more vivid and lively. On the importance of these texts it is hardly necessary to dwell. When we consider the unbounded enthusiasm with which every fragment of an ancient Roman or Greek inscription is received, and remember that in these letters we possess hundreds of original contemporary documents whose authenticity is beyond all question, their value to all students of Assyro-Babylonian life and history is not easily over-estimated.

The twenty letters translated on pages 241 to 255 are published in Harper's work referred to above. They belong to the Sargonide period, and have been specially selected with regard to variety of subject and style.

The Babylonian Legal or Contract Literature.[1]—The Contract Tablets are from some points of view one of the most interesting forms of the Assyro-Babylonian literature, since they admit us to the everyday life of these pioneers in civilization, so that we see them buying and selling, marrying and giving in marriage, suffering wrong and going to law, willing away and inheriting property—in short, their struggles and achievements, disappointments and sorrows, loves and hates, are all mirrored here.

Some thousands of these documents have been re-

[1] This section was written by Prof. George A. Barton.

covered and are stored in the various museums of the world. The British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania possess the largest of these collections. Of these thousands, comparatively few have been published, and the thousands already recovered are but a few of those we may reasonably expect the mounds of the East to yield to the spade of the explorer. Through the labours of Strassmaier, Meissner, and others, three thousand or more of these texts have been published; and through the efforts of Peiser, Meissner, Tallqvist, and others, their interpretation has been accomplished.

The greater number of these record the simple daily acts of buying and selling which form so large a part of the life of every civilized community. These sales include the transfer of wheat, dates, sesame, and such food-stuffs from their producers, the farmers, to dealers and consumers; the purchase and sale of slaves, houses, farms, and estates. Others record the lease of various kinds of property, and still others will it away. Next in number to records of sales are the records of money loans. These frequently tell of the pledging of a slave or the mortgaging of a house or other piece of real estate as security for the loan. At times business misfortune overtook the borrower, and hence we find records of bankruptcy among these documents. Copartnerships were formed for the conduct of various kinds of business, and the names of the partners, the amount contributed by each, the duties of each, the amounts allowed them for expenses, and the amounts finally drawn by each from the profits, all find a place in this clay photograph of ancient life. Here too we read the guarantees given that certain goods, like a coat of mail, will be manufactured by a certain date, or that others already made will last a certain time. In Babylon, as in modern life, business was often transacted through agents, and the powers of attorney given to some of these to enable them to act as their principals have fallen into our hands.

An important element in Babylonian life, as in that

of every ancient nation, was the slave element. These formed a portion of every well-to-do household. They were freely bought and sold, willed to heirs, and frequently given as a part of the dowry of brides. A slave could gain freedom either through the kindness of his master or through purchase. Not a few were permitted to engage in business enterprises on their own account, and thus secured the opportunity to gain the necessary purchase money. The most common method of emancipation was the adoption of the slave by his master; this was often done even when the slave bought his freedom, as it was the simplest legal process. In the case of women held in slavery, marriage with their masters was a pathway to freedom.

The position of women in ancient Babylonia is clearly mirrored in these tablets. They could divorce their husbands if they chose, but the penalty for so doing was heavier than that which in similar cases rested on men. Sometimes when slaves they submitted to unequal marriage contracts, as in VIII, 1, on page 269, in order to secure emancipation; at times too they were purchased by their husbands (see VIII, 2, p. 269), but more often they were given dowries upon marriage by their fathers or some relative, which placed them in practical independence, and made them almost coequal with their husbands in the home. They appear with their husbands as joint partners in buying and selling, borrowing and loaning. Married women appear alone in contracts relating to money, real estate, and slaves; they make contracts concerning merchandise with men not their husbands, and appear in lawsuits. In spite of centuries of ba'al marriage, some of the freedom enjoyed by the primitive Semitic women was still retained.

No such institution as a modern bank existed in Babylon, but for many years its place was supplied by a powerful family of money-lenders, who bore the name of Egibi, or the "Sons of Egibi." They loaned money at high rates of interest on good security, and at higher rates when the

security was poor. Not infrequently they had to take the securities pledged, because the borrowers could not pay. They dealt in real estate, formed partnerships with various men for carrying on different kinds of business, they furnishing the capital while the other partners conducted the active parts of the enterprise. The son succeeded the father as head of the firm, the younger sons became subordinate partners, and the family thus maintained its importance and power somewhat as the Rothschilds have done during the present century. The tablets recently exhumed at Nippur, of which some are translated below, reveal the existence of a similar firm there in the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II, known as "Murashu Sons."

Not the least interesting phase of Babylonian life, as we see it here, was the administration of justice. In most of the towns the common Semitic system of judgment by the "Elders," familiar to us from the Old Testament, prevailed. Some of the details of the workings of this system are exhibited on page 278 (XIII, 1, 2). This was probably the ordinary system at Babylon, but during the reign of Nabonidus (555–538 B. C.) a bench of eight judges was organized there for the administration of justice, of which, as a rule, six only sat at one time. They seem to have tried all sorts of cases. The parties to a suit appeared in person, and seem to have conducted their own cases without counsel. The judges—with no jury—considered the case in a body, and rendered a decision, which was signed by all of them and the clerk of the court. By the middle of the reign of Nabonidus the business had increased so that two clerks were necessary. As the judges usually signed their decisions in the order of their seniority, we are able from these to catch glimpses of them at different times through a series of years, and to learn something of their history. It appears that there was a system of civil-service promotion, or something quite like it. A man who in the accession year of Nabonidus was clerk of the court, two years later had been promoted to the bench, and risen once there, so that he occupied the fifth place; seven years later

all his seniors had disappeared, and he was chief justice. Other analogous cases could be cited.

Most of these legal matters have quite a modern air. How one man goes bail for another; one, a creditor, gets an execution against another—are illustrated in the documents translated below (pp. 280, 281). Many other cases, each illustrating some special point, might have been given had space permitted.

Babylonian Legends.—The two best-known legends of Babylonian literature are the "Account of the Creation" and the "Story of the Deluge," the latter being incorporated in the great national epic, the "Poem of Gilgamesh." In the "Account of the Creation" and the "Poem of Gilgamesh" we have the Babylonian representations of Hesiodic Theogony and Homeric heroic narrative. The one, composed in honour of Marduk, the chief god of the Babylonian pantheon, and probably recited in public at the great festival of the god, the Babylonian New-Year's Day; the other written in memory of a great national hero, Gilgamesh, the Gilgamos of Greek literature. There were at least two independent recensions of the creation account current in Babylonia and Assyria during the later period of their history—viz., the great Babylonian poem in seven parts, and a second shorter version which bears very little resemblance to the former. In addition to these two accounts, there existed many variants, which, together with the two accounts, are evident proof of the great age of the legends; an evidence strengthened by the traces which these legends have left in Babylonian and Assyrian art, as well as by the more indirect references to them in early and later historical inscriptions.

The Gilgamesh epic, the Nibelungenlied of Babylonia, recounts the deeds, exploits, and sufferings of Gilgamesh, the most important heroic figure in Babylonian mythology. His name, like that of Odysseus in Greek literature and Siegfried in Germanic mythology, has formed a centre around which ancient stories and legends of decidedly different nature and distinct origin clustered in course of

time. One such legend is the "Story of the Deluge," forming the eleventh tablet of the whole Gilgamesh series. It is a complete tale, related to Gilgamesh by Pernapishtim, who, together with his family, was saved from the deluge. This story had originally no connection with the rest of the poem, whose historic kernel, as we gather from the fifth and sixth tablet, was a great national upheaval, under the leadership of an ancient King of Erech, Gilgamesh, by means of which an Elamite dynasty was overthrown and Babylonian rule again established. It can not be ascertained what historical foundations underlie the other legends told in this great poem of Gilgamesh, but it is quite natural to assume that some early ruler did perform deeds of valour, and that his name in later time became the centre around which stories and legends, describing originally the deeds of other heroes, gathered. Like the Homeric poems of Greek and the great Nibelungenlied of early German literature, the Gilgamesh epic was a poem of composite character. It would be quite easy to prove this, would space permit. It is sufficient to enumerate, as a partial proof, the principal sections—viz., the rule of Gilgamesh over Erech, the strong-walled; the story of Uchat, the hunter, and Eabani; the expedition of Gilgamesh and Eabani against the Elamite king; the love of the goddess Ishtar for Gilgamesh, rejected by him, for which the goddess vows vengeance; the slaying of the monstrous mountain-bull; the journey of Gilgamesh to the Mountain of the Sunset; the passage of the Waters of Death; the Story of the Deluge; the search for the Plant of Life, and the recall of Eabani's spirit from the nether-world. All or most of these stories were probably associated originally with the names of other heroes; but they attached themselves in the course of centuries to the name of Gilgamesh.

Fortunately, this was not the case with all Babylonian legends. There have remained some, perhaps later, possibly earlier, legends, quite independent of the name and fame of Gilgamesh. A few of these have been discovered,

and, let us hope, more will be found in the course of time. Of independent legends there are known to us the Story of Zu; of Dibbara, the plague-god; of Adapa and the South-wind; and that of Etana, the eagle, and the serpent. The nether-world, that mysterious abode of the departed shades about which legends of all nations have gathered, played an important rôle in the Gilgamesh poem and the legend of the Descent of the goddess Ishtar. But heaven was also a mysterious place, and we see that it also finds place in ancient mythology to a considerable extent. As in the mythology of other nations, we have in the legends of Etana and Adapa stories of daring mortals brought into conflict with the gods by their presumption; both journeying to heaven; the one seeking entrance by his own devices, the other summoned thither by Anu, the god of heaven. In the legend of Zu we learn how one of the lesser deities obtained, for a time at least, control of the whole assembly of the gods by stealing from Bel the tablets of destiny and fleeing away to his mountain abode, whither none of the gods dare go. How he was finally punished we know not, for the end of the legend is missing.

The story of Ishtar's Descent into Hades may be sketched as follows: Ishtar arrives before the gates of the land of No-Return. After passing through the seventh gate she is brought naked and helpless before Allatu, the queen of the nether-world, who commands Namtar to smite her with plagues in all parts of her body. The absence of Ishtar, however, causes all sexual intercourse to cease upon the earth. News of this calamity is brought to Shamash, the Sun-god, by Papsukal, the messenger of the gods. Shamash at once hastens to Sin and Ea to discuss a remedy. A mysterious being, named Uddushu-namir, is created by Ea and sent to Allatu to demand in the name of the great gods the waters of life with which to sprinkle Ishtar. Enraged at the request, Allatu curses Uddushu-namir with a fearful curse, but nevertheless commands Namtar to bring forth the prisoner and to sprinkle her with the waters of life. Ishtar is led forth, and as she passes

through each gate her ornaments are restored to her one by one.

The interpretation of this story depends upon the meaning of the last few lines, which are somewhat obscure. The situation as given by Dr. Alfred Jeremias is perhaps the most probable. A brother goes to a magician to inquire for the spirit of a dead sister. The real issue involved is, "Will the dead return?" The magician then relates to him the story of Ishtar, the only one who has ever returned from the nether-world. In line 47 of the obverse the mourner himself is addressed: "If she (i. e., Allatu) does not give to thee her release (i.e., of the dead sister), then turn thyself to her (i. e., Ishtar)." He is then commanded to secure the good graces of Ishtar and her consort, Tammuz, by a formal lamentation. The reference to Belili, seemingly a sister of Tammuz, in lines 53 and 54, is somewhat obscure. In line 55 the departed sister addresses her sorrowing brother, giving directions that on the day of Tammuz, as they weep for the departed consort of Ishtar, they shall not forget her in their lamentation. It ought to be added that this story of Ishtar is not, as was formerly supposed, a part of the Gilgamesh epic. This legend has been ably treated by Jastrow in Chapter XXV, "The Views of Life after Death," of his "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria."

It is quite certain that these legends and myths were implicitly believed by the Babylonians, and had a religious import for the people among whom we find them, where they formed a part in the practical religion and worship of the Babylonians. Many of the legends were doubtless suggested to the early Babylonians by changes in the aspect of Nature or widespread plagues and disease. The clearest instance of this is preserved in the Dibbara legend, the story of the plague-god, whose campaigns and bloody battles were thus suggested as the work of the god and his attendant deity Ishum. From similar circumstances we may safely assume that tablets containing these accounts were hung up at the entrance of houses and served as amu-

lets for keeping off the plague. The Zu legend was probably first suggested by a sudden overwhelming of the country by storms and clouds. In general we may say that, aside from the Creation account, two main elements can be observed in these Babylonian legends—viz., echoes from the history of the remote past, and the scene of some striking phenomenon of Nature.

Oracles given in Favour of Esarhaddon.—These oracles, eight in number, are found on a large clay tablet, about two thirds of which has been preserved. After each oracle and separated from it by a line is given the name of the person uttering it. All of them, except the first and the last, are by women. Five of the oracles are from Arbela. They appear to be part of a more extensive collection made by the votaries of the Ishtar cult at Arbela (pp. 414–419).

They possess the usual characteristics of oracular response—dignity and indefiniteness. The general purpose, however, is plainly that of encouragement. They have usually been referred to the beginning of Esarhaddon's reign, as the time to which they most suitably apply. The king is evidently beset by some powerful enemy, and the throne itself is in immediate danger of being overthrown. This enemy is none other than the two brothers of Esarhaddon, who had murdered their father Sennacherib and then fled into Armenia, but had now come down to wrest the rule from their younger brother. For several months the attention of the young king was taken up with fighting for his rights to the succession, and it is at this time that the majority of scholars date these utterances.

No. 7, which is addressed to the king's mother, and No. 3, which is a formal acknowledgment of the kingship of Esarhaddon, are clearly from the beginning of his reign. As far as the others are concerned, they are in all probability from the same period, although some scholars are of the opinion that they cover the entire reign of Esarhaddon.

Magic.—The religious literature of Babylonia is peculiarly rich in its collection of magical incantations and exorcisms, which fact points to a widespread belief in innu-

merable spirits, which were supposed to have a certain power over men. To control these spirits, to turn aside the consequences of their malice, and to insure their good will, is in general the object of these texts.

It was natural that disease should be considered as an affliction from some troublesome spirit, either directly present in the body or exercising its pernicious influence from a distant hiding-place. The cure was brought about by exorcising the demon through prescribed formulas, whose virtue had been tested, the recital of which was accompanied by symbolical acts. These symbolical acts were usually the burning of images of the witches and the loosing of knots which the witches were supposed to have tied.

In all probability the magical texts were among the first of the religious texts to be committed to writing. Serving the practical purpose that they did, it is not at all strange that certain ones which had proved their effectiveness would become popular. A desire to preserve such would arise early, and they would after a while become permanently associated with certain temples, thus forming what might be well called a ritual. In this manner they would form part of the temple archives.

Several of such rituals or series of texts have been preserved, some of longer and some of shorter extent. The ordinary method was to name a series after the opening line of the first tablet. With the magical texts, however, this custom was departed from, and instead the series was given a title distinctive of its contents. Thus we have a series of nine tablets dealing for the most part with diseases connected with the brain, which is called the "Head-sickness Series." Another, comprising at least sixteen tablets, was called the "Evil-Demon Series," because its purpose was protection against various classes of evil demons. The two series of texts, "Shurpu" and "Maqlu"—both of which signify "burning"—from which a large part of our translations have been taken, were so called because both series had to do with the burning of the images of the sorcerers

and with the incantations which were used in connection with this symbolical act. The latter of these embraced eight tablets and contained about fifteen hundred and fifty lines. The former, though embracing nine tablets, is somewhat shorter.

We have spoken of these series of texts as rituals. With reference to their growth Jastrow makes the following interesting suggestions: "The texts were evidently prepared with a practical purpose in view. The efficacy of certain formulas having been demonstrated, it was obviously of importance that their exact form should be preserved for future reference. But a given formula was effective only for a given case, or at most for certain correlated cases, and accordingly it became necessary to collect as many formulas as possible to cover all emergencies. The priests, acting as exorcisers, would be the ones interested in making such collections, and we may assume, as already suggested, that each temple would develop a collection of its own—an incantation code that served as a guide for its priests. The natural tendency would be for these codes to increase from generation to generation, perhaps not rapidly, but steadily. New cases not as yet provided for would arise, and new formulas with new instructions would be produced; or the exorcisers at a certain temple would learn of the remedies tried elsewhere, and would embody them in their own special code. In short, the growth of these incantation 'rituals' was probably similar to the manner in which, on the basis of actual practice, religious codes grew up around the sanctuaries of ancient Israel, a process that terminated in the production of the various codes and rituals constituting the legal documents embodied in the Pentateuch."

Concerning the time of the composition of these texts, Jastrow proposes as the terminus a quo the union of the Babylonian states under Hammurabi, and the necessary result, the supremacy of Marduk. The prominence of Ea and his favourite seat, the city of Eridu, in the incantation texts, gives additional confirmation to the antiquity of such

incantations in Babylonia. But the texts, as we have them, are not in their original form. Evidence of various sorts—such as catch-lines, duplicates, series, and colophons—makes it very clear that they have been subjected to more or less editorial work. The language gives evidence that the present form of the texts came into existence probably not later than 2000 B. C., from which tablets, the copies which have been preserved down to our own time, were written many centuries later. The exact time of the composition of a series of texts can not, however, be determined except within certain wide limits. The copying and editing may have gone on at the same time.

Having spoken of the general character and development of the incantation texts, it remains to discuss briefly the three chief elements in this phase of Babylonian religion—the demons, the witches, and the exorcisers.

The names of the demons are very numerous, and, although in many places they seem merely to have the general connotation "evil spirit," originally indicated some distinctive characteristic, such as the moment chosen for their work, as lilu, night-spirit; or their method of attack, as rabiçu, the one who lies in wait; or ekimmu, the seizer; or their chief attribute, as gallu, the strong one.

There is no place in any corner of the universe where these evil spirits can not penetrate. Every manner of evil and disaster is ascribed to them, from pestilence, fever, and the scorching wind of the desert, down to the trifles of life—a quarrel, a headache, a broken dish, or a bad dream. They walk the street, slip into the door, get into the food; in short, are everywhere, and the danger from their presence is always imminent. To be sure, they had their favourite haunts in regions difficult of access—the lonely desert, the silent grove, the mountain wady filled with shadows. On the monuments they are always represented by some ugly and monstrous form, either animal or human. For a long time the Assyrian kings protected the entrances and the doorways of their palaces by huge representations of these evil spirits—the well-known bulls and lions—and

some of these colossi are even known by the name shedu, which is one of the general terms for demon.

The dividing line between the demons and the gods is frequently hard to trace. The process of the survival of the fittest went on even among the spirits as well as elsewhere, and the origin of not a few of the gods can be traced back to demons. The opposite process also took place. Scores of the old local gods of Babylonia have been perpetuated merely through their being evil spirits. The main difference between the gods and the spirits is in this: while there were a few good spirits, the great majority of them were hostile to man and beast; the gods, on the other hand, were usually favourably disposed, and though at times angry with their followers, could nevertheless be appeased.

Corresponding to a widespread belief in demons was a similar belief in witchcraft. It was not at all strange that the demons, who worked in every possible corner of the universe, should take possession of human beings. For the most part the witches were persons of abnormal appearance—dwarfs, giants, deformed, insane, possessing the "evil eye," etc. As is universally the case, the witch was far more common than the male sorcerer.

These possessed persons had the same power as the demons, and often the two are placed in such close juxtaposition that very little difference can be discerned between them. In the same manner as the evil spirit, the witch could get inside of a man and work all sorts of mischief. From being on an equality and having the same power as the demons, it was but natural that the witches should at last be conceived of as being superior to the evil spirits, and as having full control over them, able to have them at their beck and call.

The methods of control which the witches employed were various—the "evil word," consisting of some magical formula, the glance from an "evil eye," or potions concocted from noxious herbs. A very common method of control, which rests upon the scientific principle of sympathetic magic, was the symbolical act of the sorcerer. He

would perhaps tie knots in a rope, and with each knot repeat a certain formula, and thus in symbol wrench the limbs, wrack the arms, or strangle the throat of the victim; or perhaps he would make an effigy of his victim out of honey, clay, or pitch, and then by burning, torturing, or burying it in some out-of-the-way place, would foretell a corresponding fate on the part of the one whom it represented.

Life without any protection whatever against the innumerable throng of sorcerers, witches, and demons, must have been unbearable. We are not surprised to find, therefore, a wide use of amulets and talismans. Mr. L. W. King has described some fragments of the "Pest-god" legend on tablets which were evidently intended to be hung up. Every one had to have his protection, but the use of such charms demanded on the part of the wearer no particular acquaintance with the best means of turning aside the evil influences which were on every hand. Frequently a more potent means was required to effect a cure, and special knowledge was necessary for this. Thus a professional class arose whose particular work was to cope with these demoniacal powers of the witches and the evil spirits. These men were naturally the priests, and early in the development of religion this became one of their main functions.

The conjurer-priest, or ashipu, as he is called, is in the service of Ea and Marduk, and by means of the incantation performs various mediatorial services for his people—such as the healing of diseases, the atoning for sins that have been committed, the loosing from the ban of the sorcerer, the driving away of evil spirits, the appeasing of the wrath of the angry god or goddess.

As far as the activity of the exorcisers is concerned, it differed very little from that of the sorcerers and the witches. The method of the latter was more simple. The former had brought their art to a system. The latter were in the service of evil. The former devoted themselves to the good, and thus, under the kindly protection of the gods, their activity became, as it were, legalized. A casual

reading of the incantations shows that one of the principal rules of conjuring was to repay like for like. So the conjurer prays that the gods may conjure the sorcerer with his own sorcery, the incantation of the witch is counteracted by another incantation of superior power, the symbolical tying of knots is offset by the symbolical loosening of them, the burning of an image of the witch is an effective remedy for a similar action on their part.

It has been said that the activity of the exorciser was under the protection of the gods. These gods, opposed to the "gods of the night," whose nature it was to work evil, were first of all Ea, who occupies a very prominent place in the incantation texts, and his sons Shamash, Marduk, Gibil, and Nusku. Besides these there were Ishtar and her spouse Tammuz, Nana, Belit, and Sin, the Moon-god. By far the greatest rôle, however, is played by the Fire-god. We are constantly meeting him. He, together with fire, the element which he represents, are the untiring helpers of the exorcisers in their battle against the powers of darkness.

The "Maqlu Series" has been edited by Dr. Tallqvist, and the "Shurpu Series" by Professor Zimmern. Mr. Leonard W. King has edited "The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand" in his "Babylonian Magic and Sorcery." The translations have been based on these editions. Many suggestions have been received from Jastrow's admirable treatment of "The Magical Texts" in Chapter XVI of his "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria."

Hymns and Prayers.—The Hymns and Prayers are very closely related to Incantations. To quote Jastrow: "The addition to the sacred formulas of prayers directly addressed to certain gods may be put down as due to the adaptation of ancient texts to the needs of a later age; and, on the other hand, the addition of incantations to what appear to have been originally prayers, pure and simple, is a concession made to the persistent belief in the efficacy of certain formulas when properly uttered."

The Hymns to Ishtar and Sin have been selected for translation as rather elaborate examples of this class of

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A series of fac-similes, showing the development of manuscript and book illustrating during four thousand years.

THE TOWER OF BABEL.

Fac-simile of a miniature in a manuscript of the fourteenth century in the National Library at Munich.

Ainer vngerischen
der ander ræmischen
Der drut schaumischen rer
der vierd dæutsch an der ser
Der fünft recet chriechischen
der sechst haidenischen
Also het sich ir red verchert
alz si got seller het gelert
I n zwo vnd siben zich gunzen
also waz in selmsen
Gesen siben ein maurmaister ret
der werchman ie ein ander tet
Wolt er stain er pracht im laut
wan im sein red waz vnlechant
Da liezen si den turn sten
vnd lesunden an die erd gen
D haim maurer chom him wider
also velasn der turn sider
Die sprach wil ich ew nemen
daz ir si muigt erchennen
Vnd wil auch si beschaiden
dew sprach vnder den haiden
Waz ain vnd siben zich lechant
vber al in der haiden laut
Die vaden haben auch ainew
vnd auch ne dhainew
Ebraisch ist si genant
wan si got wy dem ersten vant
Da von so ist tut swar
daz got vnser schepfer
Den christen hat newr zwelf selen
di christen leichen solten leren
Vnd ist daz die zwelf zungen recht
lelent so sind si gotes chnecht
Die sechzich zung vloen laut
die muzzen sein der hell chnut
Alz vnz die pfaffen haben selant
für die gantzen warhait

literature. Several of "The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand," and two of "The Prayers to the Sun-god," have been added. The former have been edited by Mr. Leonard W. King, and the latter by Dr. Knudtzon.

The "Prayers to the Sun-god" are so peculiar as to warrant a few words of introduction. They date from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, and they have to do with questions which concern the state and the royal house. The opening line is always the same—viz., "O Shamash! great lord! As I ask thee, do thou in true mercy answer me." Then follows the question, in which the priest, acting as mediator, makes inquiry whether certain political or warlike operations will be carried out within a set period. We then have a request that the Sun-god should not heed any imperfections, impurities, or contaminations in the sacrificial lamb, or any failings of the priest in the matter of dress, accent, or ritualistic purity. The first request is made again by the priest, but in a shorter form; the animal is inspected, and in a final prayer the Sun-god is asked to send a favourable oracle. These so-called "Prayers to the Sun-god" are valuable sources of history. They are often accompanied by omens. Jastrow places them under "Oracles and Omens," rather than prayers. There are several fine prayers in the Historical Inscriptions, the best of which are from Nebuchadrezzar.

Penitential Psalms.—While these Psalms are closely related to the other forms of religious literature, they rise far above all other forms in spirituality and religious conception. Zimmern, who has done such excellent work in their interpretation, is of the opinion that they owe their existence to national misfortunes, and were composed in times of national stress. From some historical references he is inclined to assign some of them to the time of Hammurabi.

The idea underlying them is that misfortunes are directly due to the wrath of the gods, and hence, in these Psalms, great emphasis is placed on the pacification of the

deities or deity. The persons concerned in them are: the god, whose anger is to be appeased; the priest, who acts as mediator; and the penitent. A remarkable degree of humility and an almost exaggerated sense of sin permeate them. Many of them compare favourably with some of the so-called Davidic Collection contained in the Old Testament.

Omens.—A large proportion of the tablets found in the "Library of Ashurbanipal" belongs to this class of literature. Comparatively few have been published, and hence it is with great pleasure that scholars will welcome the two recent volumes of Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, of the British Museum, on "The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon." Omens were eagerly sought in matters pertaining to both public and private life, such as the stability of the throne, peace, war, pestilence, famine, inundations, drought, disease, death, and so forth. They were derived from the appearance, movements, and actions of all kinds of animals; from human and animal births; from incidents that happened to the sick; from the condition of the parts of the body; in fact, no occurrence was too trivial to escape notice. Astronomy, and especially astrology, played an important part. The Omens given in the translations belong to the group generally styled "Astrological Forecasts." These have been selected from Mr. Thompson's valuable work.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

AN OUTLINE OF BABYLONIAN-ASSYRIAN HISTORY

OF the seats of primitive civilization known to man one of the earliest is the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates. On the alluvial plain at the mouth of these rivers, ordinarily called Babylonia, lived peoples enjoying settled conditions of government and culture as early as 5000 B. C. Who the first settlers were is quite uncertain, and the problem of their racial relations is still in dispute. By the time history gains form and consecution, however, a type of civilization became dominant and universal which represented the supremacy of the Semitic race.

The prevailing form of government was the city state, and political progress continued in the varying and successive supremacies of the cities, one after another, and their gradual unification. Thus, among others, Shirpurla, Kish, Ur, Agade, Erech, Larsa, and Babylon, formed kingdoms ruling a territory more or less extensive, and yielding in turn to more powerful rivals.

A turning point in this earliest period is marked by the supremacy of the city of Agade under two famous kings, Sargon and his son Naram Sin. By the testimony of a later King of Babylon, the date of Naram Sin is fixed at 3750 B. C., and of Sargon, therefore, about 3800. Both kings testify that they ruled as far south as the centre of the Babylonian plain, and, if inscriptions coming from a much later age and ascribed to them are credible, their empire

extended to the Mediterranean on the west, into Arabia on the south, and eastward into Elam. These later documents, as well as the autobiographical fragment ascribed to Sargon (see page 1), indicate how strong an impression was made by these kings upon the imagination of other centuries, and suggest, therefore, something of the significance and scope of their activities.

Looking back upon this first great age of Babylonian history, three features are prominent:

1. Religion is the formative element. In the centre of each city is the temple, with its ruling and protecting deity. Priests are the guardians of culture. The citizens with their rulers are servants of the god. All life is founded on religion and permeated with its influence. Literature and fundamental institutions are occupied with it. Already the traditions of a far-distant past have been wrought into something like an organized literary form, the outcome of which is poetical literature like the Babylonian story of creation, and the narrative of the deluge, the latter forming an episode in an epic poem. Already the Sabbath, "a day of rest for the heart," is a fundamental institution which, with other equally important elements of religion, was later to find its home among the Hebrews.

2. The energizing element of these communities is the ruler. He exercises supreme and unlimited power as servant of the deity and representative of divine authority. He is the builder, the general, the judge, the high priest. His name is perpetuated upon the building stones of the temple and palace. His figure is preserved in the image which stands before the god in his temple.

3. From a civilization rooted in religion and under the sway of a ruler limited only by the will of god springs the impulse to expansion so characteristic of those early Babylonian communities. Circumstances were also particularly favourable. Communication between the different cities was made easy by the innumerable water courses threading the plain. The Tigris-Euphrates Valley lay in a kind of natural centre of commerce, inviting trade from

the south and east and sending forth its merchants to the north and west along the natural highways made by its rivers. Thus, by the twenty-fifth century B. C., Babylonian civilization had reached Syria and Palestine, and Babylonian rulers claimed authority in these regions.

These larger outlooks with their opportunities for wealth and power naturally reacted upon the Babylonian states to produce greater political unification. This process came to its culmination in connection with the invasion of a foreign foe, the Elamites, who, descending from the heights to the east, gained possession of the southern cities and received the homage of those of northern Babylonia. But the occupation was only temporary. A movement of liberation emanating from the city state of Babylon succeeded not only in driving out the enemy, but in uniting all the cities under the sway of the northern capital, Babylon. The leader in this struggle and first king of united Babylonia was Hammurabi, who reigned, according to the dynastic tablet, fifty-five years, and is the founder of the old Babylonian Empire. He drove out the Elamites and conquered Rim-Sin of Larsa. He united under the headship of Babylon the "kingdom of the four regions" and that of "Shumir and Akkad." This unity he sought to make not merely political, but religious and social. He shows a statesmanlike ability in the measures he undertook, and the national history begins with him.

The historical material coming from him is not abundant, but sufficient to reveal some of the details of his activity. The ends he aimed at were inner organization and restoration in politics, religion, and society. His attention was directed not to Babylon alone, but over the whole land. A period of prosperity and advance in all spheres of life is the result of his work. Unity, nationality, is impressed on all departments of the national structure. This appears in—

1. The development of national prosperity. A great mass of the so-called contract tablets dates from the reign of Hammurabi. The evidence of these to a condition of

peace, security, and prosperity is apparent. The king's canal inscription, in which he records the digging of a trunk canal, and its effect upon the fertility of the land, illustrates another feature of the times.

2. The growth of a national culture. The inscriptions of the king tell of his temple-building and his encouragement of the architectural advancement of the land. Much of the oldest literary material which has come down to us dates from his reign. He was also an ardent collector of ancient traditions. The great epic poem of Babylonia, of which the deluge story forms a part, is thought to come from his time. He was the founder of the Semitic national culture which flourished so magnificently, and has been so widely influential upon succeeding peoples and nations.

3. The establishment of a national religion. It is not without good ground that the organization of the Babylonian religion is assigned to Hammurabi. Before him it was impossible, for local authority meant local religion. Only where there was a united Babylonia could there be one national religion. The gods of the cities were gathered into a pantheon. The magical and astral elements were harmonized.

Babylonia, thus unified, pressed forward yet more vigorously in its career of expansion. An irresistible impulse carried it inevitably to the north and west. To the south lay the unknown oceans, or the inhospitable deserts. To the east the equally impassable mountain ranges of central Asia. But the Euphrates and Tigris afforded easy approach to the land of upper Mesopotamia and Syria, and thither pointed the manifest destiny of the rulers of the Babylonian state. Henceforth the history of Babylonia is the history of its relation to the western world. One of the kings of the dynasty of Hammurabi proclaims himself lord of the west. All of them have long reigns, indicating peace, prosperity, and progress.

The absence of any definite knowledge concerning the second Babylonian dynasty (about 2094–1730 B. C.) suggests that with them weakness and confusion begin to ap-

pear in the empire. Judging from later events, it is probable that grave changes were in operation about Babylon, movements of peoples pressed upon and pressing in upon that land, the outcome of which is seen in the establishment of a new dynasty upon the throne and the appearing of a new power in the Mesopotamian valley. This new dynasty was that of the Kassites, and the new power was Assyria.

The beginnings of Assyria are unknown, but the comparatively late date of its appearance in history, coupled with the fact that language, institutions, and people have a Semitic character, and that decidedly Babylonian, suggests that the new community was an offshoot or colony of Babylonia. It has also been conjectured with much plausibility that its appearance and activity at this time are to be connected with the ascendency of the new and foreign Kassite people in Babylonia.

The Kassites, if our chronology is reasonably accurate here, ruled nearly six hundred years (about 1730–1150 B. C.) over the Babylonian plain. The non-Semitic character of the names and titles which they bear upon the monuments has convinced modern scholars that they have come from the region of the northeast of Babylonia. They do not seem to have established their capital at Babylonia, but to have preferred a more central point in the plain, and at the old sacred city of Nippur many remains of the dynasty have been discovered.

One of the most important of their inscriptions is that of King Agum, in which relations with the Hittites of the north, as well as with the peoples of the east, seem to be indicated. The later kings of the dynasty entered into friendly relations with the kings of Egypt, as the correspondence of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets indicates. Though they were an alien people, yet they were early assimilated to the higher civilization of Babylonia, and they contributed little that is permanent to the language and the life of the Semitic empire.

The chief characteristic of the period of the Kassite kings, however, is the almost constant hostility between

the Babylonian and the Assyrian powers. It was this condition of things which hindered their aggressive activities and made it possible for the Egyptians under the Pharaohs of the New Empire to extend its boundaries eastward and northward to the banks of the Euphrates and into Mesopotamia.

What is known of the almost constant and devastating wars of this period is preserved in the so-called synchronous history of Assyria and Babylonia, which, written from an Assyrian point of view, glorifies perhaps too much the Assyrian progress. But there can be no doubt but that the Kassite dynasty gradually declined in power until at last it was overthrown and a native dynasty took its place, of which the most important ruler was Nebuchadrezzar I.

But though the Kassites had disappeared, the struggle with Assyria continued, being transformed, as it seemed, from a struggle against conquerors of their native Babylonia into an ambition to recover for themselves and take possession of the home land.

In addition to this complication the Semitic Babylonians had to contend about this time with a new antagonist. The Kaldi, a warlike people of Arabian origin, entered the southern part of the plain, and at first occupying the sea-coast, began to press northward to gain possession of the great centres of Babylonian life. Henceforth the ancient state was harassed from north and south by her active enemies. Coincident with this endeavour to possess the lower Mesopotamian plain was the Assyrian ambition to gain possession of the upper valley over which pass the routes of trade to the west. These movements, at times hindered, at other times more successful, under kings of whom we know hardly more than their names, seemed about to be carried to complete success in the person of King Tiglath-pileser I (1120–1100 B. C.). His long historical inscription testifies to his campaigns in the north and east, the west and south, in which he reached the Mediterranean and conquered Babylon. With him Assyria

began to undertake that task of world conquest in which all succeeding kings took their part.

But this progress was not destined to be constant. The two sons of Tiglath-pileser have left only the slightest notices of their activity, and with their passing a decline begins in the fortunes of Assyria, lasting for at least a century. The chief reason for this seems to be that a new and irresistible migration of people from northern Arabia spread over the Mesopotamian and Syrian plains, forcing the Assyrians back upon their own borders. This was the so-called Aramæan migration, the presence of which in Syria is testified to in the biblical narrative of the wars of David with the kingdom of Zobah and the relations of Solomon with the newly founded kingdom of Damascus.

Darkness settles down upon the Assyrian kingdom until Ramman-nirari [Adad-nirari] II appears, in whose brief inscription are mentioned two of his predecessors, Ashur-dan II and Tiglath-pileser II, the latter of whom seems to have been the founder of the new dynasty by which Assyria's fortunes were to be re-established. Ramman-nirari II was succeeded by Tiglath-adar II, and he by Ashur-naçirpal (884–860 B. C.), with whom Assyria was to take a great step forward.

It has often been remarked that this decline of Assyria (1100–900 B. C.) was a providential condition of the rise and splendid development of the kingdom of David and Solomon. The Aramæans weakened the great Eastern empires and made any movement in northern Syria impossible during this period, while they themselves were not sufficiently organized nor had penetrated deeply enough into southern Syria to threaten the Israelite kingdom. But by the year 884 B. C. all had changed, and on every side the opportunity was given for a great advance of Assyria. The Aramæans had settled down into petty kingdoms on either side of the upper Euphrates; Babylonia was suffering from the invasion of the Kaldi; Egypt, after the brilliant reign of Shishak I, had fallen into decay, and the splendid organiza-

tion of Solomon had split into the petty kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

Ashurnaçirpal seems to have devoted himself primarily to the recovery of the Mesopotamian plain from the Aramæans, breaking up the kingdoms lying about the upper waters of the Euphrates. He made an expedition into Syria, the date of which is quite uncertain, possibly about 875 B. C., in which he reached the Mediterranean. Its influence upon Palestine may have been hardly more than to weaken the northern Syrian states, and thus to give a freer hand to the kingdom of Damascus in its rising hostility to Israel. No doubt, also, all Syria now began to understand that a new development of the military kingdom lying on the Tigris had begun.

Under Shalmaneser II, his son (860–825 B. C.), the western campaigns were vigorously pursued. First, the Aramæan kingdom lying in the great bend of the Euphrates was demolished. Then the river was crossed and the Syrian states attacked. The lesson of Ashurnaçirpal had been heeded, and Shalmaneser found himself face to face with a coalition of kingdoms of the west that met him in 854, at the battle of Qarqar.

That Shalmaneser II, for all his boast of victory in this battle, had suffered in the conflict with the west is shown by the fact that for five years he did not come into that region. Not until 849 do we hear of another meeting with the Syrian coalition. Another campaign followed in 846, another in 842, and another in 839. In the two latter campaigns he was confronted by Hazael of Damascus, who, according to 2 Kings, viii, 15, had usurped the throne of that kingdom. It was shortly after 842 that on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser, among the tributary kings, mention is made of "Jehu, the son of Omri," who paid tribute to the Assyrian king.

Shalmaneser II warred also against Babylonia, where a dynastic difficulty between two brothers gave him an opportunity of intervening to secure the accession of his candidate in circumstances which emphasized the superiority

of Assyria. His campaigns in the northeast with the mountain tribes are less significant.

It was not without serious strain upon the resources of the Assyrian Empire that this tremendous series of campaigns was carried on. To this fact is perhaps attributable the revolt led by a son of the king which troubled the last years of Shalmaneser II, and which he left to be overcome by his son and successor, Shamshi-Ramman II (825–811). To him succeeded Ramman-nirari [Adad-nirari] III (811–782). He entered the west once more, after it had rested from Assyrian invasion since 833. The Eponym Canon records a four years' expedition (806–803), and an inscription from the king mentions the defeat of Damascus and the overthrow of its king, Mari, and the extension of Assyrian authority over "the land of Omri." The king seems to have made his arms supreme even to the border of Egypt, though whether he ever entered the land of Israel with his army is doubtful.

With the death of Ramman-nirari III, Assyria falls into another temporary decline. This is indicated by the absence of documents from the three kings of this period, Shalmaneser III (782–773), Ashurdan III (772–755), and Ashur-nirari (754–745). The Eponym list, with its brief mention of pestilence and revolts, testifies to the inglorious condition of the state. Some expeditions, indeed, into the west are mentioned—one against Damascus, one against Arpad, and three against a city of northern Syria, Hatarika—enough, perhaps, to keep down the strength of these kingdoms without extending or strengthening the Assyrian sway.

With Ashur-nirari this splendid dynasty of Assyrian kings which had ruled for more than a century came to an end. One who did not belong to the old royal line succeeded to the throne, possibly as the outcome of a successful revolution—Tiglath-pileser III. He introduced a new period of Assyrian conquest. He is the first Assyrian king to obtain in any real sense the title of King of Babylon. A revolution had taken place there which placed on

the throne a certain Ukinzir, a Kaldu. Tiglath-pileser marched against him, and after two campaigns captured him and ascended the vacant throne. He seems to have reigned in Babylon under the name of Pulu, which reappears in the biblical narrative of 2 Kings, xv, 19. In the west, where Assyria's activity had been intermitted, an opportunity had been given for the recovery and re-establishment of the local kingdoms. Israel and Judah seem to have been able to take advantage of this opportunity. Jeroboam II (885–745) brought Israel to the highest point of her material development. Similar prosperity on a smaller scale attended the long reign of Uzziah (Azariah) in Judah.

Tiglath-pileser III, however, showed himself unwilling to remain the nominal head of the west, where Assyria's inactivity during the preceding years had given occasion to vassal cities to refuse to render lawful tribute. In 743 he began a four years' campaign against Arpad, a city of central Syria. Here he came in contact with the soldiers of the rising kingdom of Urartu or Armenia, which was destined to become the rival of the Assyrian Empire. In 738 he was again in that region, to overthrow a revolt which centred about the city of Hamath. It was in connection with this campaign, apparently, that mention is made in fragments of his annals which have come down to us of a certain Azariah of Judah, who is the leader of the revolt, and whom he defeats. The mention of this King of Judah, apparently the same as Uzziah, has given rise to many conjectures and explanations, none of which are altogether satisfactory. Among the tributary kings mentioned in the course of this campaign is Menahem of Samaria, and it is interesting to bring into connection with this statement of the Assyrian king the passage in 2 Kings, xv, 19, 20.

Among other tribute-paying kings of this year is Rezon of Damascus, who, however, in a similar tribute list of four years later, is not mentioned. Between these two dates, therefore, he had revolted. Second Kings, xv, 37; xvi, 5,

tells how he united with Pekah of Israel in a coalition and made war upon Joram and Ahaz of Judah because, as has been thought, these kings would not unite in the anti-Assyrian movement. Judah was brought into great straits, and the youthful Ahaz, against the earnest admonition of Isaiah, his prophet counsellor, sought a way out of the difficulty by offering tribute to Tiglath-pileser. The appeal was successful. The Assyrian advanced into the west in 734, and for two years marched up and down through this region. Rezon was shut up in Damascus, Israel was overthrown. The Assyrian army moved southward into Philistia as far as Gaza. On its return march Pekah was dethroned and slain, and Hoshea reigned in his stead as a vassal of Assyria. Damascus was captured, Rezon slain, and the whole land, with the exception of Israel, was made into an Assyrian province.

It is not certain whether Shalmaneser IV, who followed on the Assyrian throne (727–722 B. C.), was the son of his predecessor, since from his short reign of five years no monuments have come down to us. The Eponym Canon is also defective for his reign, and our information concerning him is dependent upon the few statements found in the Babylonian chronicle and in 2 Kings, xvii, 1–6. It appears that Hoshea paid the Assyrian tribute in the accession year of Shalmaneser, being overawed by the presence of Shalmaneser's army. But in the second year thereafter he revolted, whereupon the Assyrian king invaded Israel, imprisoned him, and attacked Samaria, but was compelled to besiege it, and died during the siege.

His successor was Sargon (722–705 B. C.), the greatest of all the Assyrian kings. He brought the siege of Samaria to a successful conclusion in 722.

The real cause of the troubles with the western provinces was the attempt of Egypt to gain influence in these regions. The Ethiopians secured control of the Egyptian throne with the twenty-fifth dynasty, and its first king, Sabako, proceeded immediately to intrigue in the Assyrian provinces. Hoshea of Israel seems to have been the first

victim of these intrigues, but he was not the last. A king of Hamath revolted and succeeded in organizing Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria in connection with Gaza against the Assyrian, in reliance upon promises of assistance made by the King of Egypt. Sargon defeated the coalition at the battle of Raphia in 720. For nine or ten years the west was quiet. In 711 another revolt occurred, the centre of which was the city of Ashdod. Sargon sent his Turtan to put down the rebels, and the expedition is referred to in the twentieth chapter of Isaiah. An inscription fragment mentions Judah in connection with this rebellion as though it was a tributary state which had joined the alliance against Assyria. In view of this fact there is a difference of opinion among scholars as to whether Judah was punished when the rebellion was put down. No satisfactory evidence on this point exists either in the inscriptions or in the Old Testament.

The great achievements of Sargon are connected with the east, rather than with the west. It was he who gave the death-blow to the kingdom of Urartu. In a series of splendid campaigns he cut off the allied tribes east and west, and in 714 B. C. attacked the centre of the kingdom. Ursa, the king, was defeated and killed himself. Urartu was made an Assyrian province. The rising power of the Kaldi in Babylonia, as represented by Marduk-bal-iddin, was beaten back by him. This Kaldu, from Bit Jakin, had entered into a coalition with the Elamites and other neighbouring peoples, and in 721 B. C., proclaimed himself king of Babylonia. Sargon at once gave him battle, but the result was indecisive. Twelve years passed before he molested the usurper. Then, in 710 B. C., he led his armies south, drove out the Elamites, routed Marduk-bal-iddin, and was crowned king of Babylon in 709 B. C. He followed the Kaldæan into his land and plundered it. He spent the last years of his life at Babylon, where he received the homage and tribute of the kings of his immense domains. Among them were thirty princes of the Medes, who were appearing in the east on Assyria's borders and

were beginning to consolidate into a nation. Assyria was never more strong or prosperous than under him. He was the first real organizer of the empire. The policy of deportation, the method of Assyrian provincial government, was developed by him. He was a great builder, and the remains of his palace exhibit the finest examples of Assyrian architecture and art.

Sargon is said to have been murdered by one of his soldiers. His son, Sennacherib (705–682 B. C.) succeeded. Marduk-bal-iddin seems to have chosen the opportunity for the organization of a coalition east and west against the Assyrian. The visit of his ambassadors to Hezekiah (2 Kings, xx, 12) seems to have had this object in view. Sennacherib, however, proceeded immediately against Babylon, and followed up the defeat of the Kaldi by an expedition to the west in 701. First the Phœnician states were subdued; Askalon was captured; other cities of Philistia were overrun; a battle was fought at Altaku with the Egyptian army, which was driven into Egypt. Sennacherib then turned to Judah, overran the country, took the cities, captured two hundred thousand one hundred and fifty people, carried off great booty, and shut Hezekiah up in Jerusalem. The King of Judah submitted and paid tribute to save himself and his capital. Sennacherib had advanced to Lachish, where he received the tribute. But as Sennacherib advanced farther, he feared to leave behind him this citadel in possession of the King of Judah, and sent a detachment, in violation of his agreement, to demand its surrender. His attempt failed. The detachment retired, and shortly after that strange calamity befell the Assyrian army (2 Kings, xix, 35) concerning which the inscriptions are naturally silent. It is doubtful whether Sennacherib ever came into the west again, though the reason for this was probably not so much the unhappy issue of this campaign as the fact that the western tributaries had no more spirit to revolt.

The first expedition of Sennacherib against Babylonia did not have any lasting result. In 700 B. C. he entered it

again, pressed the Kaldæan back to the sea-coast, and followed him with a fleet. During his absence the Elamites entered the land, only to be driven back on his return. All elements of opposition united finally against him in the battle of Halule (691 B. C.), and though the immediate result was undecided, when he came again in 689 B. C. he was unopposed. Irritated by the constant opposition, Sennacherib determined to destroy the ancient city of Babylon, and so remove the cause of the trouble. The city remained in ruins till the reign of his son.

Sennacherib fell a victim to the ambition of two of his sons, who slew him, according to the biblical account, while he was worshipping in a temple. His third son, Esarhaddon, took vengeance upon the murderers, and succeeded to his father's throne (681–668). He altered his father's policy with regard to Babylon, rebuilt the city, and made it the centre of his empire. He seems to have been one of the best of the Assyrian rulers. Egyptian intrigues induced the western states, especially Sidon, to revolt, and a three years' campaign (680–678) was necessary before they were subdued. The king took a cruel vengeance upon his rebellious subjects, perhaps with the design of making other revolts unadvisable. In an inscription of Esarhaddon dated about 675 there appears in the tribute list of the kings of the west the name of Manasseh, King of Judah. The King of Egypt, the vigorous Taharka, was unwilling to leave the western cities in peace, and after a time succeeded in inciting Baalu of Tyre to revolt. Esarhaddon perceived that for the security of these Mediterranean cities he must reduce Egypt to submission, and in 674 and 671 he advanced against the empire upon the Nile. In the latter campaign, after besieging Tyre, he crossed the desert and entered Egypt, fought three battles in quick succession, captured Memphis, and drove Taharka into Ethiopia. Another expedition was made in 669, but Esarhaddon seems to have died before it was completed.

A brilliant series of campaigns was made by the king in the mountains to the east and northeast of his empire.

It was a time in which these tribes were being pushed forward by migrations of peoples behind them like those of the Kimmerians in the north and the Medes in the east. Esarhaddon determined to crush them in their own fastnesses and prevent them forever from harassing his domains. The years 674–672 B. C. were thus occupied.

His son and successor, Ashurbanipal (668–626), continued the aggressive activity of the father. On the death of Esarhaddon, Taharka had returned and re-entered Memphis. The advancing Assyrian army drove him out. A conspiracy was formed among the Egyptian princes to restore him, led by Necho of Sais, but it completely failed. Finally, in 662, the Ethiopians were driven out of Egypt and the Assyrian authority there was supreme. In a tribute list of Ashurbanipal, from about the year 667, the name of Manasseh of Judah occurs again. It is evident that Judah was a submissive vassal of the Assyrian Empire. Assyrian culture followed in the wake of Assyrian armies, and the gradual incorporation of the western states into the empire brought with it the adoption of Assyrian civilization, the recognition of Assyrian religion, and interest in Assyrian literature. A specific instance of this is seen in the biblical references to the presence of Assyrian culture and religion in the kingdom of Judah in the times of Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Manasseh. The altar which the former saw at Damascus, and copied, was in all probability Assyrian. The sun dial of the same king is an Assyrian invention, and the idolatries which are ascribed to Manasseh bear an Assyrian stamp, and suggest how the supremacy of the armies of Assyria formed a strong argument in favour of the superiority of her gods. Some writers have held that this period probably saw the introduction of much of that Babylonian mythology so like those narratives which are preserved in a purified form in the early chapters of Genesis.

Ashurbanipal did not follow the example of his father in establishing his seat of government at Babylon, but removed it to Nineveh, placing his brother, Shamashshumukin, on the throne as vice-king in Babylon. After some

fifteen years the brother organized a formidable conspiracy, embracing the King of Elam, the Kaldæans, and the cities of the west. For two or three years Ashurbanipal bent all his energies to the suppression of the revolt, and when it was finally overcome in 648 B. C., and the subjugation of Elam followed, Ashurbanipal stood at the height of his power. Just what punishment was inflicted upon the kings of the west for their share in the rebellion we do not know, but the explicit narrative of 2 Chron. xxxiii, 11–13, as to the Assyrian attack upon Manasseh, his removal to Babylon, and his restoration to his kingdom, has led some scholars to place this event in connection with the great revolt set in motion by the brother of the Assyrian king. Treatment parallel to that of Manasseh is recorded by Ashurbanipal in the case of Necho, prince of Egypt.

In the north the glory of Assyria under Ashurbanipal seemed to reach the climax. Gyges, King of Lydia, hard pressed by the Kimmerians, sought the aid of the Assyrians, and proffered his submission. Ashurbanipal could thus claim to have extended the boundaries of the empire to a region which his fathers had not known, and when he died Assyria seemed never before so great and its power so imposing.

Yet brilliant as were the reigns of both Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, they mark in fact the period of Assyria's decline. The conquest of Egypt was a necessity for the preservation of the fidelity of the western provinces. It was never incorporated into the empire. Esarhaddon's victories in the northeast really broke down the power of those tribes that stood as a barrier against the Medes. Ashurbanipal's conquest of Elam likewise opened the way for the Persians to reach the Babylonian border. Therefore hardly was Ashurbanipal in his grave when Assyria hastened rapidly to her fall. Of these last years we are very imperfectly informed. Two sons of the great king followed him—the one, Ashuretililani; the other, Sinsharishkun. A great Scythian invasion swept down into western Asia. The Medes appeared upon the heights above Nineveh. The

Kaldi reached the summit of their ambition in gaining possession of Babylonia. The two joined against Assyria under the leadership of Cyaxares the Mede and Nabopolassar the Kaldæan. Against these united forces Nineveh made no long resistance. The honour of the final assault seems to belong to the Medes. The last king, his court, and his people perished in the destruction of the capital—even the date is not known, though it was probably about 606 B. C.

During these three hundred years Assyria had a great career, and its service in forwarding the progress of the world was important and indispensable. It was the first real world empire that had thus far existed. It worked out the necessary though crude beginnings of political organization on a large scale—the government of subject peoples, the unity of a great state. In this empire it distributed the elements of its civilization. Along the roads under its control trade and commerce advanced from east to west, and with trade, art, and culture. Thus it passed on the torch of civilization to Asia Minor and Greece. Cruel as were its wars, they served the interests of civilization in that they broke down and annihilated the various petty and contending nationalities of western Asia, welding all into a rude sort of unity which prepared the way for that next attempt of man to realize a world empire which was undertaken under the leadership of another family of peoples, the Aryans. The Persian Empire would not have been had not Assyria done its work.

The conquerors of the Assyrian Empire were the heirs to its possession. Babylonia under its King Nabopolassar (625–605 B. C.) received the southern and western provinces from the Tigris to the Mediterranean. The task of taking possession of this region and uniting it under his sway fell to his famous son, Nebuchadrezzar II (604–562 B. C.), the founder of the new Babylonian Empire. The years that had marked the downfall of Assyria had seen a vigorous endeavour on the part of the Egyptian Empire to recover its position in the life of the Oriental world.

This took the form of an attack upon the provinces of Syria. Pharaoh Necho II, taking advantage of the decay of Assyria, set out upon his northern march in 608, and for several years campaigned in this region up to the Euphrates, in the course of which movement he defeated and killed Josiah of Judah, and made his kingdom an Egyptian dependency. But Nebuchadrezzar, who went against him, utterly defeated him in the battle of Carchemish in the year 604 B. C., drove him out of Syria, and took possession of the whole region down to the border of Egypt.

A rebellion of Jehoiakim of Judah in 598 B. C. was followed by the capture of Jerusalem and the deportation of the leading Jewish citizens. A second revolt by Zedekiah of Judah, entered into at the instigation of the King of Egypt and in reliance upon his help, was followed by the siege of Jerusalem by a Babylonian army, its capture in 586 B. C., and the annihilation of the kingdom. The city of Tyre, which had joined in the rebellion, after a siege of thirteen years was compelled to acknowledge Babylonian supremacy. The punishment of Egypt followed in 568 B. C. Nebuchadrezzar entered the valley of the Nile, and, while he did not make Egypt a Babylonian province, he so weakened it as to make it unable henceforth to interfere in Syria.

More important than the wars which Nebuchadrezzar waged were the measures he took for the organization and building up of Babylon and the Babylonian state. His task in this respect was primarily that of restoration and consolidation. Babylonia came into his hands shattered by years of external and internal conflict. It had suffered in struggles with foes without and warring factions within. In bringing about its recovery and reorganization he devoted himself first of all to works of defence. Babylon had already a double wall. He seems to have built about it a third greater wall. He improved and elevated the streets, lined the canals, and built a palace which was at the same time a citadel. It is not improbable that the so-called Median wall built across the narrow neck of land between the

Euphrates and the Tigris north of Babylon goes back to him.

He devoted himself to securing the industrial and commercial prosperity of Babylonia. Now as never before was the Euphrates from its mouth to the upper waters and the roads beyond to the Mediterranean under one government. The contract literature of his age is a speaking witness of the successful results of this activity. His inscriptions reveal his care for the canals and his attention to the inundations of the rivers.

He was above all a worshipper of the gods, especially of Marduk and his son Nebo. He rebuilt temples in Babylon and other cities, and in every way showed himself anxious for the religious welfare of his land. His purpose in this as in others of his activities seems to have been the unification of the people. There are good reasons to believe that with Nabopolassar the Kaldi became definitely lords of Babylon. Nebuchadrezzar was a Kaldæan. But his aim was to make Semitic Babylonians and Kaldæans one nation, having one religion. That he succeeded in this the prosperity of his kingdom proves, but the unity did not have time to establish itself in strength and vigour under his weaker successors.

The personal character of Nebuchadrezzar is one which compares favourably with any of the Assyrian monarchs. He was a warrior; here his Kaldæan descent distinguished him from the Semitic Babylonians, whose conquests made his empire as great as that of many an Assyrian conqueror. He was a statesman in his conquests, all of which had a purpose in forwarding the security of his empire. He knew how to unify and give prosperity to his own land. He was not free from the cruelty inseparable from an Oriental warrior, but he was a pious worshipper of the gods, and some of the utterances in his own inscriptions, if not written, yet sanctioned by him, are lofty and spiritual, "and show," says Tiele, "so deep and true a religious feeling that a devotee of Israel, by substituting Jahveh and Jerusalem for Marduk and Babylon, could take them upon his own lips."

Great Babylon, whose beauty in palace and temple, whose strength in wall and fortress, whose prosperity in trade and commerce, all go back to him, may well be taken as his counterpart—as the highest and truest expression of his genius and statesmanship. The darker side of his character is brought out in the book of Daniel. With the experiences and activities of the king as there related, little has as yet been found parallel in the inscriptions, and there is much which must remain uncertain. Yet in the book of Daniel, too, there are traits of character in the representation of Nebuchadrezzar which show when rightly understood wise and prudent statesmanship. Some have seen in the high and religious tone of his inscriptions and the approximate monotheism as noted above a substantiation of the general course of the Daniel narrative.

With the death of Nebuchadrezzar the glory of the empire was speedily quenched. Had he been followed by a man as brilliant and resourceful as himself, its overthrow might have been delayed, but it could hardly have been averted. There was a fundamental weakness in his organization arising out of the existence and antagonism of two races, the Semitic Babylonians and the Kaldæans, to whose unification his best energies had been devoted, but without permanent success. Moreover, a mighty antagonist had appeared. The Median Empire, which had shared in the spoils of the destruction of Assyria, had been merged into the Persian Empire, and was led by Cyrus, whose genius was equalled only by his thirst for conquest, and in whose path to universal rule the empire of Babylon was the chief obstacle.

The son of Nebuchadrezzar, Amil-Marduk (561–560 B. C.), was murdered by his brother-in-law, Nergalsharuçur (559–556 B. C.), whose son was supplanted by Nabuna'id [Nabonidus] (555–539 B. C.). With this latter king the Semitic-Babylonian element in the empire seems to have come to the front, and his policy was in the line of more or less decided opposition to that of Nebuchadrezzar. He devoted himself in religion to the rehabilitation of the old

Babylonian seats of religious worship with a view to depressing the prominence of Marduk of Babylon. He was not without a certain force of character, and in more peaceful times might have had a prosperous reign, but was unequal to the difficult circumstances in which he found himself.

Cyrus, after the overthrow of Lydia in 546 B. C., gave himself to the task of overthrowing Babylonia. In 538 B. C. the city of Babylon opened its gates to the conqueror, Nabonidus was made prisoner, and his son Belshazzar, the general of the army and colleague of his father, was overthrown. Thus Babylonia became a province of the Persian Empire, and a new race occupied the seats of the ancient Semitic people, who, as Assyrians or Babylonians, had dominated the world of Oriental civilization for more than four millenniums.

GEORGE STEPHEN GOODSPEED.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LITERATURE

LEGEND CONCERNING THE BIRTH AND BOYHOOD OF SARGON I

Corresponding to the Moses story in the Old Testament

SARGON, the powerful king, King of Agade, am I.
My mother was of low degree, my father I did not know.
The brother of my father dwelt in the mountain.
My city was Azupirani, situate on the bank of the Euphrates.
(My) humble mother conceived me; in secret she brought me forth.
She placed me in a basket-boat of rushes; with pitch she closed my door.
She gave me over to the river which did not (rise) over me.
The river bore me along; to Akki, the irrigator, it carried me.
Akki, the irrigator in the * * * brought me to land.
Akki, the irrigator, reared me as his own son.
Akki, the irrigator, appointed me his gardener.
While I was gardener, Ishtar looked on me with love [and] * * *
* * * four years I ruled the kingdom.

[Remnants of five lines too badly mutilated for translation.]

A LETTER FROM HAMMURABI TO SINIDINNAM

This is the letter in which Scheil and Hommel found the name Kudurlaggamar, the Chedorlaomer of the Old Testament. Mr. King has shown that their copies of the text and translations are incorrect.

To Sinidinnam from Hammurabi.

The goddesses of Emutbalim, which are assigned to thee, will bring to thee in safety the troops under the command of Inuhsamar. When they reach thee, with troops that are in thy hand, destroy the people, and let them bring the goddesses in safety to their dwellings.

INSCRIPTION FROM A CYLINDER OF HAMMURABI, KING OF BABYLON

(ABOUT 2200 B. C.)

HAMMURABI, the mighty king, King of Babylon, king of the four quarters of the world, the founder of the land, the king, whose deeds are pleasing to Shamash and Marduk, am I.

I raised the battlements of the wall of Sippara like a great mountain, with a swamp (moat) I surrounded it. I dug the canal of Sippara to Sippara, and supported it with a wall of safety.

Hammurabi, the founder of the land, the king, whose deeds are pleasing to Shamash and Marduk, am I.

I settled Sippara and Babylon as peaceful habitations for all time.

Hammurabi, the favourite of Shamash, the beloved of Marduk, am I.

That which from days of old no king had built for his (?) king, for Shamash, my lord, I have gloriously accomplished.

THE INSCRIPTION OF AGUMKAKRIME

I AM Agumkakrime, the son of Tasshigurumash; the illustrious descendant of god Shukamuna; called by Anu and Bel, Ea and Marduk, Sin and Shamash; the powerful hero of Ishtar, the warrior among the goddesses.

I am a king of wisdom and prudence; a king who grants hearing and pardon; the son of Tasshigurumash; the descendant of Abirumash, the crafty warrior; the first son among the numerous family of the great Agum; an illustrious, royal scion who holds the reins of the nation [and is] a mighty shepherd.

I am king of the country of Kasshu and of the Akkadians; king of the wide country of Babylon, who settles the numerous people in Ashnunak; the King of Padan and Alman; the King of Gutium, a foolish nation; [a king] who makes obedient to him the four regions, and has always been a favourite of the great gods.

When the great gods with their lofty command ordered [of me?] the return of Marduk, the lord of Esagila and Ezida, I induced Marduk to turn his face toward Babylon * * * I heeded and obeyed [this command?], induced Marduk to betake himself to Babylon, and went by the side of Marduk and Çarpanit. I consulted Shamash by means of the lamb of an haruspex and sent [him?] to the far-off country of Hani. He took the hands of Marduk and Çarpanit, who favour my government, and brought them back to Esagila and Babylon. I put them into the rear shrine of the house of Shamash, when he brought them back, and ordered my workmen to place them there securely. A goldsmith [I then commanded to make splendid robes for Marduk and Çarpanit]; I gave for these robes of Marduk and Çarpanit four talents of fine gold, and clothed the gods with a stately robe, a garment made of fine gold. I also gave for [the decoration of] the shrines of Marduk and Çarpanit mountain-crystals, marhashu-stones of greenish hue, hulal-ini-stones, mushgarru-stones, utru- and uthal-

stones, pearls (?) of Meluhha, alabaster (?), precious, shining stones, and brilliant stones of great renown, and bedecked therewith the robes of the great gods. I placed upon their heads high turbans, of the shape of horns; turbans indicating the royal rule, as befitted their divinities, and decorated them with the majestic splendour produced by crystal and gold. The top of the turban(s) I ornamented with ini-mushgarru- and menishutu-stones; and I decked the whole turbans with hulalu-, mushgarru-, pi-marhashi-stones, with crystals and utru-stones.

The dragon upon which the divine majesties rode I decked with [a covering] of gold. [Lacuna of fourteen lines.] I surrounded and ornamented [with the same material] its stall; I constructed a sea (for the dragon); I ornamented its breast with hulalu-, hulal-inu-, and utru-stones, and put around its gills (?) a wreath of gold, crystal, ka-stone, and hulalu-stones. I also deposited in the r[ear shrine?] a precious treasure, a fine treasure of pearls, hulalu-stone, pi-marhashi-stones of greenish hue, hulalu and other precious stones * * * I placed them above his habitation, built of cedar-wood, and, in order that (?) I might let them occupy places suitable for their great divinities, and that the workmen might finish (the work?), I sent [men?] to the cedar and cypress districts * * * to a splendid mountain, whose odour is fragrant; and from these splendid mountains they brought cedars and cypresses * * * I made also large gates, gates of cedar-wood, swinging doors; and I placed them at the chambers of Marduk and Çarpanit, and [fitted them out] with bands of [shining?] bronze. Their * * * I inclosed with fastenings of shining bronze. I filled in [pictures of?] a serpent, a dragon, a ram, a storm-goat, a mad hound, a fish-man, a goatfish, made of crystal, of dushu- and samtu-stones, and of alabaster. I made them resplendent, and set up these fine beautiful gates in the chambers of Marduk and Çarpanit. I also had a priest (literally, a snake-charmer) purify Esagila. After I had purified (and dedicated) the habitations (of the gods?) * * * I brought

them through the Kasushi-gate into the chamber dedicated to Marduk. I arranged great festivals for them; I filled with splendour the house of [their] joy (?), and gave it as a present to my lord and my lady.

I sacrificed unto Marduk a great [offering?] of gold, a great [offering?] of crystal, a great offering of silver. Unto the gods, (residing) in Esagila I gave presents of silver and gold. After I had thus appointed unto Esagila (all that was) good and splendid * * * [Lacuna of sixteen lines] * * *

Nur-ilu, together with his house, his field, and his forest; Ikisha-ilu, the priest, together with his house, his field, and his forest, as well as Mardukmuballit, the metal-worker, with his house, his field, and his forest [I made servants of the temple].

To Agum, who built the shrine of Marduk and renovated Esagila, who led Marduk into his abode, and as a service (for him) released from every obligation those workmen, with their houses, fields, and forests, so that they might serve Marduk and Çarpanit [be merciful?]!

May the days of Agum be long, and may his years be many; may his rule be filled with (all that is) good!

May the brightness of the wide heavens shine upon him, and may the clouds grant (abundant) rain unto him!

May Marduk cause the orchards to bear good fruit always!

May Anu and Antum, who live in heaven, send a blessing upon Agum, the good king, who built the sanctuaries of Marduk and freed from obligations the workmen!

May Bel and Belit, who reside in Ekur, cast for him the lot of his life!

May Ea and Damkina, residing in the great ocean, grant him life for many days!

May the great goddess, the mistress of wide countries, make perfect his lot!

May Sin, the luminary, grant him royal seed for future days!

May the lord Shamash, the lord of heaven and earth, lay firmly the foundations of his royal throne for future days!

May Ea, the lord of the deep, perfect his wisdom!

May Marduk, the lord of wells, who loves his reign, make his rich blessings complete!

Tablet [of the library] of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, King of Assyria, who puts his trust in Ashur and Belit, and in the lord that knows the light (?), the king of the gods, Ashur. Whosoever removes the tablet, or substitutes his name for mine, may Ashur and Belit overthrow him in anger and wrath, blot out his name and his family from off the land!

INSCRIPTION OF RAMMAN-NIRARI I, KING OF ASSYRIA (ABOUT 1325 B. C.)

From a stone tablet found at Kileh Shergat

RAMMAN-NIRARI, the illustrious prince, the pride of God, the master, the viceroy of the gods, the founder of cities, the destroyer of the mighty hosts of the Kassites, the Kuti, the Lulumi and the Shubari, annihilator of all foes above and below, who trampled under foot their lands from Lupdu and Rapiku as far as Eluhat, who took possession of all men, who enlarged boundary and frontier; the king for whom the gods Anu, Ashur, Shamash, Ramman, and Ishtar have brought all rulers and princes to submission at his feet, the exalted priest of Bel, the son of Puduilu, governor of Bel, the representative of Ashur, the conqueror of Turuki and Nigimti to their entire extent, all of (their) rulers, (their) mountains and highlands, the boundary of the wide-spread Kuti, the district (?) of the Ahlami and the Suti, the Yauri and their lands, who enlarged boundary and frontier; the grandson of Bel-Nirari, priest of Ashur, who destroyed the hosts of the Kassites,

and whose hand conquered all his enemies, who enlarged boundary and frontier; the great-grandson of Ashur-uballit, the mighty king, whose priesthood was all-powerful in the temples and whose royal prosperity was established unto distant (lands) as firmly as a mountain, who broke up the forces of the wide-spread Shubari, who enlarged boundary and frontier.

When the muç-la-la of the Temple of Ashur, my lord—which is [opposite] the gate (called) "The invocation of the god of the land" and the gate (called) "The god of judges," which had been built in former days—had fallen into decay, had collapsed and was in ruins, I strengthened that place, I reached its base, I (re)built (it) with granite and earth from Ubase, I restored (it) to its place and I set up my tablet. In future days, let a future prince, when that place shall have grown old and fallen into decay, repair its ruins; my tablet, the record of my name, let him restore to its place, that Ashur may hearken to his prayers. But whosoever blots out the record of my name and inscribes his own name, or conceals my tablet, or consigns it to destruction, or casts it into the stream, or burns it in the fire, or throws it into the water, or covers it with earth, or brings and places it in a dark (?) house, where it can not be seen; or if (any one) because of these curses, a foreign foe, an evil enemy, a (man of) hostile tongue, or any other man sends and causes (him) to seize it, or if he makes any scheme and carries it out:

May Ashur, the exalted god, who dwells in Eharsag-kurkura, Anu, Bel, Ea, and Ishtar, the great gods, the Igigu of heaven, the Anunnaku of earth, all of them, look upon him in anger and

May they curse him with an evil curse in wrath!

May they destroy his name, his seed, his relatives, and his family in the land!

May the ruin of his land, the destruction of his people and of his territory at their weighty command be decreed!

May Ramman with a terrible rainstorm overwhelm him!

May flood, destructive wind, rebellion, revolution, tempest, want (and) famine, drought (and) hunger be continuous in his land!

May he come down upon his land like a flood!

May he turn (it) into mounds and ruins!

May Ramman strike his land with a destructive bolt!

The month of Muhur of the gods, twentieth day, eponymy of Shulmanu-Karradu.

INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR I, KING OF BABYLON (ABOUT 1140 B. C.)

At the time that Nebuchadrezzar, the lofty and majestic prince, King of Babylon, pre-eminent among kings, the warlike patesi, the governor of Babylon, the sun of his country, who makes his people to prosper, who preserves boundaries and establishes land-marks (?), the just king, who pronounces righteous judgment, the warlike hero, whose resources are devoted to battle, the bearer of the mighty bow, who fears no battle, who overthrew the mighty land of the Lullubi with his weapons, the conqueror of the west-land, the plunderer of the Kassites, who sets up kings, the prince beloved of Marduk—the king of the gods, Marduk, commissioned him, and he advanced his weapons to avenge Akkad. From Der, the city of Anu, he spread slaughter for thirty double-miles. In the month of Tammuz he set out upon a campaign; the * * * burned like fire, and the sand (?) of the road scorched like a flame; there was no water for * * * and the supply of drinking-water was cut off; the splendid mighty steeds stood still, and the nerve of the brave heroes failed. The majestic king advances, the gods urging him on, Nebuchadrezzar marches forward, who has no rival, who does not fear the difficult country * * * Ritti-Marduk, the head of the house of Karziyabku, his charioteer, did not remain (?)

at the right hand of the king, his lord, but pushed forward his chariot. The mighty king hastened and came to the bank of the Ula. Then the kings took their stand round about to make battle, fire flashed forth in their midst, the face of the sun was darkened by the dust, the hurricane broke loose, the storm raged. In the storm of their battle, the charioteer does not see the man by his side. Ritti-Marduk, the head of the house of Karziyabku, his charioteer, did not remain (?) at the right hand of the king, his lord, but pushed forward his chariot. He did not fear battle, but proceeded against the enemy, and entered against the enemy of his lord * * * By the command of the gods, Ishtar and Ramman, the lords of battle, he spread disaster broadcast, and overthrew the country of the King of Elam, and the King Nebuchadrezzar remained the victor, seizing Elam and carrying away its possessions. As soon as he had turned back to Akkad, victorious and joyful of heart, Nebuchadrezzar, the king, his lord, gave direction to Ritti-Marduk, the head of the house of Karziyabku, whom the king, his lord, had put to the test among the enemies and hostile warriors, concerning the cities of the house of Karziyabku, a district of Namar, as much as there was of it, which under former kings had been independent, but through enemies had illegally come under the dominion of Namar; and the king rendered a decision, and the cities (received) their freedom as in former times: within the entire dominion of Namar, the servants of the king, as well as the governor of Namar (and) the commandant, are not to enter a city; the master of the horses is to bring neither stallions nor mares into the cities; revenue of oxen or sheep for the king or the governor of Namar is not to be taken; a * * * or an homer of balsam is not to be given; an homer is not to be given to the tax-gatherer; the master of the riding-horses is not to enter the cities; nor is he to take therefrom mares for the riding-horses; nor is any one to cut down the hedges of the parks or date-palm groves; along the wall of Bit-Shamash or Shanbasha no one is to build a bridge or make a road; neither are the

soldiers of Nippur or Babylon, nor any of the soldiers of the king, as many as reside in the cities of the house of Karziyabku, to cause the arrest of any one either in city or in field.

From the entire dominion of Namar, Nebuchadrezzar, the king of the world, freed the cities of Ritti-Marduk, the son of Karziyabku, the territory belonging to Namar, as much as there was of it, for all time, and he appointed the soldiers, who dwelt in these cities, for the special support of the governor of Namar and the commandant.

At the declaration of freedom of these cities there were present Nazi-Marduk, the son of Kurkame, the kalu of Akkad; Arad-Nana, the son of Mudammiq-Ramman, the secretary of state; Marduk-kuduri-uçur, the minister of Bel; Tubia-enna, an officer; Muqqut-gish-ge, the son of Çapri, the keeper of the palace-gate; Shamash-nadin-shum, the son of Atta-iluma, the governor of Ishin; Bau-shum-iddin, the son of Hunna, the governor of Babylon; Balatsu-Gula, the son of Arad-Ea, the prefect; Marduk-kin-apli, the son of Himile, the keeper of the treasure (?); Arad-Gula, the son of Kalbi, the governor of Ushti; Tab-ashab-Marduk, the son of Esaggilzir, the governor of Halman; Bel-nadin-shum, the son of Habban, the governor of Namar; and Nabu-kuduri-uçur, the commandant of Namar.

The scribe who wrote this tablet was Bel-tabni-bullit, the seer.

Whenever in after time, be it by the sons of Habban, or any one else who is placed in the governorship of Namar, be it the mayors of Namar, small or great, as many as there are of them, of the cities of the house of Karziyabku, which the king has freed from the dominion of Namar, there is one who does not reverence the king or his gods and turns and establishes a dominion, and obliterates the name of the god and the king, as it stands written, and writes in another (name), or employs a fool, a deaf man, a blind man, or a knave to destroy this tablet with a stone, or to burn it in the fire, or to cast it into the river, or to hide it in a field where it can not be found:

May the great gods, as many as are mentioned in heaven and earth, curse that man with fury; may god and king cover him deep with disgrace!

May Ninib, the king of heaven and earth, and Gula, the mistress of E-sharra, destroy his boundaries and blot out his seed!

May Ramman, the chief one in heaven and earth, the lord of canals and rains, fill his rivers with obstructions, bring upon him hunger and want, and bind upon him distress, frailty, and mischief!

May frailty fasten its grip (?) upon the inhabitants of his city!

May Shumalia, the mistress of the snow-capped mountains, who dwells upon the summits and traverses the peaks; may Ramman, Nergal, and Nana, the gods of Namar; may Shir, Shubu, the son of the temple of Der, Sin, and the Lady of Akkad, the gods of the house of Habban —may these great gods in the anger of their heart meditate evil against him!

May another acquire the house which he has built!

With a dagger in his neck and a * * * in his eyes, may he cast himself upon his face before his captor, and may he, unmindful of his pleading, cut off his life!

In the overturning of his house may his hands roll in mire!

As long as he lives may he drag sorrow after him, and as long as heaven and earth stand may his seed be blotted out!

INSCRIPTION OF TIGLATH-PILESER I, KING OF ASSYRIA (ABOUT 1100 B. C.)

ASHUR, great lord, ruler of the divine host,
who bestows sceptre and crown, and establishes the (legitimate) dominion;
Bel, lord, and king of all the spirits of the deep,
father of the gods, and lord of the countries;

Sin, the wise, lord of the (moon) disk,
rich in splendour;
Shamash, judge of heaven and earth, who
thwarts the plotting of the enemies and protects the good;
Adad, the powerful, who rains destruction upon the hostile regions,
rendering them ruined and desolate (?);
Ninib, the hero, who crushes the wicked and the enemy
and lets me attain my heart's desire;
Ishtar, princess among the gods, mistress of destruction,
who unchains the terrors of war:
Ye great gods, guardians of heaven and earth,
whose onset brings fight and battle;
who have enlarged the dominion
of Tiglath-pileser, the beloved prince,
the desire of your heart, the lofty shepherd;
whom in your faithful heart, ye have called;
whose head ye have crowned with a lofty crown,
whom ye have solemnly appointed to the dominion over the country of Bel;
to whom, for the sake of power, ye have granted
supremacy, majesty, and valour, the prerequisites of
his lordship, and whose priestly seed
ye have called to a seat
forever in E-har-sag-kur-kur-ra.

Tiglath-pileser, the powerful king, king of hosts, who has no rival, king of the four quarters (of the world), king of all rulers, lord of lords, king of kings; the lofty prince, to whom, in the name of Shamash, a pure sceptre was given, and who rules over the nations, the subjects of Bel, in their entirety; the legitimate shepherd whose name is exalted above all rulers; the lofty judge, whose weapons Ashur has sharpened, and whose name, as ruler over the four quarters (of the world), he has proclaimed forever; the conqueror of distant lands, which form the boundaries on north and south; the brilliant day, whose splendour overthrows the world's regions; the terrible, destroying flame, which like the rush of the storm sweeps over the

enemy's country; who, in the name of Bel, has no adversary, and overthrows the foes of Ashur.

Ashur and the great gods who have enlarged my kingdom, who have given me strength and power as my portion, commanded me to extend the territory of their (the gods') country, putting into my hand their powerful weapons, the cyclone of battle. I subjugated lands and mountains, cities and their rulers, enemies of Ashur, and conquered their territories. With sixty kings I fought, spreading terror (among them), and achieved a glorious victory over them. A rival in combat, or an adversary in battle, I did not have. To Assyria I added more land, to its people I added more people, enlarging the boundaries of my land and conquering all (neighbouring?) territories.

In the beginning of my government, five kings of the Moschi with an army of twenty thousand men, whose ancestors had, for fifty years, conquered Alzi and Purukuzzu —the latter formerly tributaries and vassals of Ashur, my lord—and whose power no king had ever broken and overcome in battle—trusting to their strength rushed down and conquered the land of Qummuh (Commagene). With the help of Ashur, my lord, I gathered my war chariots and assembled my warriors; I made no delay, but traversed Kashiari, an almost impassable region. I waged battle in Qummuh with these five kings and their twenty thousand soldiers and accomplished their defeat. Like the Thunderer (the storm god Adad) I crushed the corpses of their warriors in the battle that caused their overthrow. I made their blood to flow over all the ravines and high places of mountains. I cut off their heads and piled them up at the walls of their cities like heaps of grain. I carried off their booty, their goods, and their property beyond reckoning. Six thousand, the rest of their troops, who had fled before my weapons and had thrown themselves at my feet, I took away as prisoners and added to the people of my country.

At that time I marched also against the people of Qummuh, who had become unsubmissive, withholding the tax and tribute due to Ashur, my lord. I conquered Qummuh

to its whole extent, and carried off their booty, their goods, and their property; I burned their cities with fire, destroyed, and devastated. The rest of the people of Qummuh, who had fled before my weapons, crossed over to Seresse, on the farther bank of the river Tigris; and they selected this city for their stronghold. I assembled my chariots and warriors. I crossed steep mountains and cut my way through their difficult paths with the help of pick-axes of bronze (?). I constructed a road for the passage of my chariots and of my troops. I then crossed the Tigris and conquered Seresse, their stronghold. In the thickest of the mountain forests I scattered their soldiers over the ground like sheaves (?), and made their blood to flow into the Tigris and over the heights of the mountains. At that same time I overthrew also the troops of the Kurteans who had come to save and to assist the people of Qummuh, in addition to those of Qummuh (as easily) as one pours out water. I heaped the bodies of their warriors in great numbers on the mountain peaks, and let the river Name carry off the corpses of their soldiers into the Tigris. I captured in this same battle their king, Kilianteru, son of Kilianteru—people called him also Sarupi—his wives and his children, the offspring of his loins, and the rest of his relatives. I carried off one hundred and eighty bronze unguentaries, five bowls of copper, along with their idols of gold and silver, the choicest of their property, and took away their booty and their goods. The city itself and its palace I burned with fire, destroyed, and devastated.

As for the city of Urartinash, their stronghold, situated on the mountain of Panari, fear, the awful splendour of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed its inhabitants, and, to save their lives, they carried off their idols and goods and fled like birds to the peaks of the high mountains. I brought my war chariots and my troops across the Tigris. Shadianteru, son of Hattuhi, the King of Urartinash, without ever attempting to fight, embraced my feet in his own country. I took as hostages his sons, the offspring of his loins, and his relatives. He brought to me sixty bronze

unguentaries, large bowls and sacrificial dishes of copper, together with one hundred and twenty slaves, and cattle large and small; and I accepted these as taxes and tribute; spared his life, but placed upon him for the remainder of his days the heavy yoke of my lordship. I conquered and subjugated the immense country of Qummuh to its whole extent. From the spoil and tribute of Qummuh I gave one sacrificial dish of copper and one bowl, likewise of copper, to Ashur, my lord, as a votive-offering; and to Adad, my protector, I gave the sixty bronze unguentaries together with the idols (of the people of Qummuh).

Relying upon the fierceness of my mighty weapons to which Ashur, my lord, had given power and supremacy, I marched, with thirty war chariots going at the side of my veterans, swift warriors—may they always be strong against the shock of an overthrow!—to the haughty and unsubmissive country of Mildish. I traversed mighty mountains and difficult territory in my chariot where the country was good, and afoot wherever it was bad. On Mount Aruma, a rough territory, impassable for the moving of my chariots, I left them behind and placed myself at the head of my soldiers; wormed myself through like a lizard (?) and advanced victoriously to the rough and troublesome mountain peaks. I reduced the country of Mildish to a rubbish-heap, as if tossed together by a hurricane. I laid low their soldiers in battle in large numbers (?), carried away their booty, their goods, and their property, burned all their cities with fire, and imposed on them hostages, taxes, and tribute.

Tiglath-pileser, the valiant hero, who opens up the mountain paths, subdues the unsubmissive, and sweeps away all the haughty.

I subjugated the rebellious and unsubmissive people of Shubari, and laid the heavy yoke of my lordship upon the countries Alzi and Purukuzzu, which had withheld their taxes and tribute. I ordered them to bring, year after year, taxes and tribute before me to my city Asshur.

Inasmuch as Ashur, my lord, had intrusted to me the

mighty weapons to subdue in my valour the unsubmissive, so he now commanded me to extend the boundaries of my country; I marched against an army of four thousand Kaskeans and Urumeans, Hittite soldiers, who had become unsubmissive and, trusting to their strength, had captured cities of Sumashtu, vassals of Ashur, my lord. They heard of my advance toward Sumashtu. The splendour of my valour overwhelmed them; they feared to join battle with me, and embraced my feet. Together with their belongings, and one hundred and twenty chariots and their teams, I took them away with me and added them to the people of my country.

In my fierce valour I marched a second time against the people of Qummuh; conquered all their cities; carried off their booty, their goods, and their property (beyond reckoning), and burned their cities with fire; destroyed and devastated them. The survivors among them, being afraid of my powerful weapons and fearing the approach of my mighty battle array, betook themselves, to save their lives, to the inaccessible peaks of the mountains, a most difficult and rough territory. I ascended in pursuit of them to the heights of these lofty mountain forests and to the peaks of the steep mountains, which were really not suitable for man to tread. They essayed against me a trial of weapons, combat and battle; but I accomplished their defeat. I heaped, like the Thunderer, the corpses of the warriors upon the mountain peaks, and made their blood to flow over the ravines and the high places of the mountains. I brought down their booty, their goods, and their property, from these steep mountain heights. I subjugated Qummuh throughout its whole extent, and incorporated it into the territory of my country.

Tiglath-pileser, the powerful king, the snare for the unsubmissive, who sweeps away the resistance of the wicked.

With the mighty forces given me by Ashur, my lord, I marched against the country of Haria and the widespread Kurteans. Ashur, my lord, commanded me to ascend lofty mountains, which no king had ever before

reached. I assembled my war chariots and my troops, and marched between the mountains of Idni and Aia, an intractable region. High mountains, which were as sharp as the point of a dagger, made impossible the advance of my war chariots. These I left in the plain (?) and ascended the difficult mountains afoot. All the Kurteans had assembled their numerous troops, and had fortified themselves on Mount Azutabgis, to make trial with me in combat and battle. I fought with them on that mountain and—although the battlefield was most unfavourable for me—I accomplished their overthrow. I heaped up on the mountain heights the corpses of their warriors, and made their blood to flow over the ravines and high places of the mountains. I pressed forward fiercely against the cities situated on the mountain peaks; conquered twenty-five cities of the country of Haria, situate at the foot of the mountains Aia, Shuira, Idni, Shezu, Shelgu, Arzanibiu, Urusu, and Anitku; carried off their booty, their goods, and their property, and burned the cities themselves with fire, destroyed and devastated them.

The people of Adaush, fearing the approach of my mighty army, had forsaken their homes, and had fled, like birds, to the lofty mountain peaks. The splendour of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them; they left their mountains and embraced my feet. I imposed on them taxes and tribute. The countries of Sharaush and Ammaush, which never before were known to have suffered defeat, I overthrew and reduced to a rubbish-heap, as if tossed together by a hurricane. I fought with their mighty, valiant troops on Mount Aramu and accomplished their defeat. I scattered the corpses of their soldiers like sheaves over the ground; I conquered their cities, carried off their idols, and brought away their booty, their goods, and their property. Their cities I burned with fire, destroyed and devastated, reducing all to mounds and arable land; placed upon them the heavy yoke of my lordship, and made them subjects and vassals of Ashur, my lord.

I conquered the powerful people of Isua and Daria who

had shown disobedience; imposed on them taxes and tribute, and made them subjects to Ashur, my lord.

In my present supremacy over my enemies whom I had thus defeated, I took my war chariots and troops, crossed the Lower Zab, and conquered Murattash and Saradaush, cities situate in the mountains of Asaniu and Atuma, a most difficult and rough territory. I cut down their troops like swaths (?), and conquered the city of Murattash, their stronghold, in less than one third of a day. I carried off their idols, their goods, and their property; sixty bronze unguentaries, thirty loads of copper, and the beautiful, small furniture of their palace, as well as prisoners. The city itself I burned with fire, destroyed and devastated. The bronze articles I then presented to Adad, the great lord, who loves me.

In the fulness of the lofty power of Ashur, my lord, I marched against the Sugi, in the land of Kilhi, who had not become submissive to Ashur, my lord. I fought on foot with six thousand of their troops and with those of the countries of Hime, Luhi, Arirgi, Alamun, Nimni, as well as with the army of the Kurteans—a vast array—on Mount Hiriha, a most difficult territory, all its peaks being as sharp as the point of a dagger, and accomplished their defeat. I heaped the corpses of their soldiers upon the mountain peaks in high heaps, and with the blood of their warriors I dyed Mount Hiriha like red wool. I conquered the whole land of Sugi, and carried off twenty-five of their idols, their booty, their goods, and their property. I burned with fire all their cities, destroyed and devastated them. The rest of their troops embraced my feet and I granted them pardon, but imposed upon them taxes and tribute and added them to the number of those who belong to Ashur, my lord. Thereupon I dedicated the twenty-five idols of those countries, which I had captured with my hand and had taken away, as a gift to the Temple of Belit, the lofty consort and beloved of Ashur, my lord; and to the Temple of Anu, Adad, and Ishtar the Assyrian, the gods of my city Asshur, and the goddesses of my country.

Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, conqueror of the lands of the enemies, rival of kings, one and all.

Thereupon, in the lofty power of Ashur, my lord, under the faithful protection of Shamash, the warrior, and with the assistance of the great gods, Ashur, my lord, sent me—who over all the world has ruled in truth and in justice, who in battle and war has never met a victorious rival, nor in combat has seen his equal—to the countries of far-off kings on the shores of the Upper Sea, who never knew subjection. I travelled over rough roads, and through difficult mountain passes whose interior in the past no king had ever penetrated. I opened paths unbeaten and roads unopened. I crossed the mountains of Elama, Amadana, and Ushish, Sherabeli and Tarhuna, Tirkahuli and Kisra, Tarhanabe and Elula, Hashtarae and Shahishara, Ubera and Miliadruni, Shulianzi and Nubanashe, and Seshe—in all sixteen immense mountains. I advanced in my chariot where the country was good, and where it was rough I made headway with pickaxes (?) of bronze. I cut down the stems and trunks of forest trees, built bridges for the advance of my troops, and crossed the river Euphrates. The kings of Nimme, of Tunube and Tuali, of Kidari and Uzula, of Unzamuni and Andiabe, of Paliqini and Aturgini, of Kulibarzini and Shinibirni, of Himua and Paiteri, of Uiram and Shururia, of Abaeni and Adaeni, of Kirini and Albaia, of Ugina and Nazabia, of Abarsiuni and Daiaeni; in all, twenty-three kings of the countries of Nairi, assembled their war chariots and their troops in their own countries and advanced to give me combat and battle. With the fury of my mighty weapons I pressed them hard, and, like the destructive flood of Adad, I brought about the annihilation of their large armies. Like sheaves I spread and scattered the corpses of their warriors upon the tops of the mountain heights and at the side of their cities. One hundred and twenty of their war chariots, the steeds with their trappings I captured in that battle. I pursued, with spear in hand, sixty kings, those of the countries of Nairi together with those who had come to their help and assist-

ance, as far as the Upper Sea (Black Sea?); conquered their great cities, carried off their booty, their goods, and their property; and burned with fire their cities, destroyed and devastated them, reducing them to mounds and arable land. Herds of fine chargers, swift mules and the cattle of their pastures I brought home in countless numbers. I captured alive all the kings of the countries of Nairi; granted mercy and pardon to them and spared their lives; captive and bound I set them free in the presence of Shamash, my lord, and compelled them to swear the oath of my great gods in fealty and allegiance for the future and forever. I took away their royal offspring as hostages; imposed upon them, as a tribute, twelve hundred horses and two thousand head of cattle, and then sent them away to their own countries.

Sieni, the King of Daiaeni, who had not submitted himself to Ashur, my lord, I brought captive and bound to my city Asshur; I granted him mercy and pardon, and dismissed him from my city Asshur as a servant and vassal of the great gods, granting him life, but making him a slave. I subdued the far-extending lands of Nairi throughout their whole extent, and made all their kings subject to me.

In the course of this same campaign I marched to the city of Milidia, in the land of Hanirabbat, which was rebellious and unsubmissive. The people feared the approach of my mighty battle array, embraced my feet, and I granted them pardon. I did not storm that city, but accepted hostages from them; and imposed upon them as a yearly tribute forever one homer of magnesite (?) for sacrificial purposes.

Tiglath-pileser, the fiery, fierce flame, the mighty battle-storm.

In the strength of Ashur, my lord, I took my war chariots and warriors, and marched into the desert, into the very midst of the Achlamean hordes, Arameans, enemies to Ashur, my lord. I made a razzia in one day from the country of Suhi to the city of Carchemish in the land of the Hittites; destroyed their army and brought home

their booty, their goods, and their cattle in countless numbers. I pursued the survivors of their troops, who had fled before the mighty weapons of Ashur, my lord, and had crossed the river Euphrates, crossing the river Euphrates on boats supported by inflated sheep-skins. I stormed six of their cities, that were situated at the foot of Mount Beshri, and burned them with fire, destroyed and devastated them. I brought their booty, their goods, and their cattle to Asshur, my city.

Tiglath-pileser, who tramples down the proud and the haughty, who overthrows the unsubmissive, and humbles all those who deem themselves powerful.

When Ashur, my lord, sent me to conquer the land Musri, I took the road leading between the mountains Elamuni, Tala, and Harusa. I conquered all the land of Musri, overpowered their warriors, and burned their cities with fire, destroyed and devastated. I fought on the mountains with the troops of the Qumaneans, who had come to the assistance of Musri, and accomplished their defeat; drove them into one city—viz., Arini, at the foot of Mount Aisa—and shut them up. They embraced my feet in fear and trembling; the city I spared, but exacted from its inhabitants hostages, taxes, and tribute.

At that time all the Qumaneans who had rallied to the support of Musri assembled the troops from all their lands and made a stand to give me battle and combat. With the help of my mighty weapons I fought on Mount Tala with twenty thousand of their numerous troops and brought defeat upon them. I scattered their large and numerous forces, and pursued them in their defeat as far as Mount Harusa on the east side of Musri. I scattered the bodies of their warriors upon the mountain peaks like the flow of water, and made their blood to flow over the ravines and high places of the mountains. I stormed their large cities, burned them with fire, destroyed and devastated, so that they became mounds and arable land; and I ruined Hunusa, their fortress, so that now it appears like a rubbish-heap tossed together by a hurricane. I fought fiercely

against their numerous troops in city and on mountain, and completely defeated them. I poured out the corpses of their warriors in the mountain forests like the flow of water; cut off their heads like swaths; and made their blood to flow over the ravines and high places of the mountain. The city itself I stormed, carried off their idols, brought away their goods and their property, and then burned the city with fire. I destroyed and ruined its three strong city walls, built with burned brick, and the enceinte of the city, reducing all to mounds and arable land; threw ashes (?) upon its ruins, and erected a memorial slab (?) of copper, inscribing on it the spoil I had gathered from the countries which with the help of Ashur, my lord, I had taken; and directing never to build anew that city, nor to erect its walls again. I built over it (the slab) a house made of brick and placed in it that memorial slab of copper.

In the strength of Ashur, my lord, I took my war chariots and troops, and besieged Kibshuna, their capital city. The Qumaneans, fearing the approach of my mighty battle array, embraced my feet and I spared their lives. I ordered them to pull down their city's great wall and its towers built of brick. They destroyed these from their foundations to their roofs, and reduced the city to mounds and arable land. The inhabitants also drove away three hundred rebellious families living among them and not submissive to Ashur, my lord, who had been implicated in the revolt. I accepted this deed, and took hostages as a pledge for the future. I also imposed on them taxes and tribute more than before, and brought to submission the wide country of the Qumaneans throughout its extent.

I conquered, in all, from the beginning of my rule to the fifth year of my reign, forty-two countries and their princes, from the other side of the Lower Zab, the boundary of far-off mountain forests, unto the other side of the Euphrates to the land of the Hittites and the Upper Sea toward the west. I made them one nation and amalgamated them; took hostages from them and imposed on them taxes and tribute.

I also conducted many other campaigns against enemies who could not approach my military superiority, covering good country in my war chariot and on bad roads pursuing the enemy afoot. Thus I always prevented an inroad of my enemies into my country.

Tiglath-pileser, the valiant hero, who holds a sceptre that has no rival, and who is perfect in the deeds of the battlefield.

The gods Ninib and Nergal had presented my majesty with their mighty weapons and their lofty bow; and at the bidding of Ninib, who loves me, I killed with my mighty bow, my sharp lance of iron, and my arrow, four huge and powerful male wild oxen, in the prairies of the country of Mitani and near the city of Arazigi, situated east of the land of the Hittites. I brought home to my city Asshur their hides and their horns.

I hunted and killed ten powerful male elephants in the country of Harran and on the banks of the Chaboras. I also captured alive four elephants; and brought the hides and the tusks of the ten, together with the live elephants, to my city Asshur. At the bidding of Ninib, who loves me, with a stout heart, I killed on foot one hundred and twenty lions with courageous attack. From my chariot I slew as many as eight hundred lions; and also laid low as trophies (? of my chase) all kinds of beasts of the field and of winged birds soaring aloft.

After I had thus successfully overcome all the enemies of Ashur, I erected a temple to my lady Ishtar of Asshur; also a temple to Martu, and Bel-Dibbarra; and renovated temples to deities and to gods in my city Asshur, which had become dilapidated, and completed their restoration. I constructed the gateways to these temples and led the great gods, my lords, into them, thus gladdening their divine heart. I rebuilt and restored palaces, my royal residences, in the outlying districts of my country—palaces which in the course of many years during the reign of my fathers had been forsaken, had fallen into decay and were now heaps of ruins. I also rebuilt the crumbling walls of

cities in my country; repaired the storehouses and granaries throughout the whole of Assyria and unloaded into them more grain than my fathers had done, heaping it high. Herds of horses, cattle, and asses I collected, which in the strength of Ashur, my lord, my hand had captured as spoil in the lands which I had conquered. I also caught in the high mountain forests herds of hinds and stags, gazelles and steinbocks—which Ashur and Ninib, the gods who love me, had given unto me as the result of my chase. I brought together whole troops of them, and reckoned their number like a large herd of small cattle. I sacrificed to Ashur, my lord, from year to year, kids and lambs, their offspring, together with the more splendid sacrifices, according to my heart's desire.

I brought from the countries which I had conquered, cedars, oaks, and other foreign woods, such as among the kings, my forefathers, none had ever planted, and I planted them in the parks of my country. I imported also for orchards rare, choice fruits, which were not found in my country and planted them in the orchards of Assyria.

Chariots and their yoked horses I increased in number more than ever before, so as to strengthen the power of my country. I enlarged the land of Assyria in territory and increased its people in number. I enhanced the welfare of my nation, and made them live and dwell in peaceful homes.

Tiglath-pileser, the lofty prince, to whom Ashur and Ninib give everything according to his heart's desire; who has followed up all the enemies of Assyria, wherever they happened to be, overpowering all who deemed themselves powerful.

The son of Ashur-resh-ishi, the mighty king, conqueror of his enemies' lands, subduer of all the haughty.

The grandson of Mutakkil-Nusku, for whom Ashur, the great lord, following the dictates of his true heart, longed, and whom he called to the legitimate dominion over Assyria.

The legitimate scion of Ashur-dan, who wielded a

splendid sceptre and ruled the people of Bel; whose handiwork and sacrificial gifts were pleasing to the great gods, and who thus reached old age and hoary years.

The descendant of Ninib-pal-ekur the royal ruler, the favourite of Ashur, whose lightning fire, like the light of day, was spread over the whole country, and who led the troops of Assyria with a firm hand.

In those days I rebuilt the Temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, a temple which long ago Shamshi-Adad, a high priestly official of Ashur, son of Ishme-Dagan, likewise a high priestly official of Ashur, had built; but it had been decaying for six hundred and forty-one years, until the time of Ashur-dân, King of Assyria, son of Ninib-pal-ekur, King of Assyria, who had pulled down that temple, without rebuilding it, so that for sixty years its foundation had not been laid.

In the beginning of my government Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, who love my priestly dignity, demanded of me the restoration of this their sacred dwelling. I made bricks, and I cleared the ground, until I reached the artificial flat terrace upon which the old temple had been built. I laid its foundation upon the solid rock and incased the whole place with brick like a fireplace, overlaid on it a layer of fifty bricks in depth, and built upon this the foundations of the Temple of Anu and Adad of large square stones. I built it from foundation to roof larger and grander than before, and erected also two great temple towers, fitting ornaments of their great divinities. The splendid temple, a brilliant and magnificent dwelling, the habitation of their joys, the house for their delight, shining as bright as the stars on heaven's firmament and richly decorated with ornaments through the skill of my artists, I planned, devised and thought out, built and completed. I made its interior brilliant like the dome of the heavens; decorated its walls, like the splendour of the rising stars, and made it grand with resplendent brilliancy. I reared its temple towers to heaven and completed its roof with burned brick; located therein the upper terrace con-

taining the chamber of their great divinities; and led into its interior Anu and Adad, the great gods, and made them dwell in this their lofty home, thus gladdening the heart of their great divinities. I also cleared the site of the treasure-house of Adad, my lord, which the same Shamshi-Adad, priest of Ashur, son of Ishme-Dagan, likewise priest of Ashur, had built and which had fallen into decay and ruins, and rebuilt it from foundation to roof with burned brick, making it more beautiful and much firmer than before. I slaughtered clean animals therein as a sacrifice to Adad, my lord.

At that time I also imported various kinds of precious stones from the mountains of the country of Nairi which with the help of Ashur, my lord, I had conquered. I deposited these in the treasure-house of Adad, my lord, to remain there for the future and forever.

As I have planned the bright and brilliant house, the lofty dwelling for the habitation of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords; and as I persevered in building it, untiringly and unceasingly, completing it with the utmost speed and thus gladdening the heart of their great divinities; may, therefore, Anu and Adad turn to me truly and faithfully, accept graciously the lifting up of my hand, hearken unto my devout prayers, grant unto me and my reign abundance of rain, years of prosperity and fruitfulness in plenty! May they bring me back safely from battle and from flight; may they reduce to submission all the countries of my enemies, mountain regions that are powerful, and kings who are my adversaries! May they come nigh unto me and my priestly seed with friendly blessings; may they establish my priesthood as firm as the rocks before Ashur and the great deities for the future and forever!

I inscribed upon my memorial slab and on my brick cylinder the glory of my valiant prowess, the victories achieved in battle, the subjection of the enemies who hated Ashur and whom Anu and Adad gave unto me as a present; and I placed them in the corner stones of the Temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, for the future

and forever. I also cleansed the memorial slab of Shamshi-Adad, my predecessor, with oil, offered a sacrifice, and restored the slab to its former resting-place.

For eternal days and forever, for always (be it said): When some future prince—when the Temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, and these temple towers shall have become old and fallen into ruins—rebuilds their ruins, may he cleanse with oil my memorial slab and the foundation cylinder, offer a sacrifice, and restore both to their lawful resting-place, writing his name unto my name! As Anu and Adad, the great lords, have dealt with me, may they deal with him and lead him to the attainment of glory and victory!

But he who wantonly breaks to pieces my memorial slab and my foundation cylinder, and throws them away, casts them into water or burns them in fire, covers them with dust or heaps them up as rubbish in some dark place where they can not be seen, blots out my signature, substituting his own in place of mine, or plans any other form of evil, thus injuring this my memorial slab:

May the great gods Anu and Adad, my lords, look upon him with wrath and with anger!

May they curse him with a baneful curse!

May they break up his kingdom!

May they uproot the foundations of his throne!

May they ruin the offspring of his lordship!

May they break to pieces his weapons!

May they bring defeat upon his army!

May they place him bound as prisoner before his enemies!

May Adad strike his country with disastrous lightning!

May he bring need and want, famine and pestilence over his country and not permit him to live one day longer!

May he blot out his name and his family from off the land!

Written in the month Siwan, the month of the Gemini, on the 29th day of the month, the eponymy of Ina-iliia-allak, the chief of the musicians.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ANNALS OF ASHURNAÇIRPAL, KING OF ASSYRIA (884–860 B. C.)

To Ninib, the powerful, the strong, the exalted, the chief of the gods, the valiant, the mighty, the perfect, whose onslaught in battle can not be equalled; the son of highest rank, the destroyer of opposition, the first-born of Nudimmud, the hero of the Igigi, the strong, the counsellor of the gods, the offspring of Ekur; who holds the reins of heaven and earth, who opens the depths, who treads the broad earth, the god without whom the decisions of heaven and earth are not decided; the destroyer, the strong, the command of whose mouth can not be changed, the chief of the four quarters of the world, the giver of sceptre and decision unto all cities, the ruler, the violent, the command of whose lips can not be altered, the strong, the broad, the leader of the gods, the exalted, the great storm, the lord of lords, whose hand controls the ends of heaven (and) earth, the king of contests, the strong, who has conquered (all) opposition, the triumphant, the perfect, the lord of the depths and the seas; the terrible, the unsparing, whose onslaught is a cyclone, who overwhelms the land of the enemies, who overthrows the wicked, the powerful god, whose counsel can not be changed; the light of heaven (and) earth, who gives light to the abyss, who annihilates the wicked, who brings to subjection the disobedient, who destroys foes, whose name in the assembly of the gods no god can humble; the giver of life, the merciful god to whom it is good to pray, who dwells in Calah, the great lord, my lord—Ashurnaçirpal, the powerful king, king of the world, a king without equal, king of all of the four quarters, the sun of the hosts of men, well-beloved of Bel and Ninib, beloved of Anu and Dagan, darling of the great gods, submissive, beloved of thy heart, the prince, the favourite of Bel, whose priesthood is pleasing unto thy great divinity

and whose reign thou hast established; the valiant hero, who under the protection of Ashur, his lord, marches here and there and among the princes of the four quarters has no rival; the shepherd looked upon with wonder, fearless of opposition, the massive flood, who has no opponent; the king who has brought to subjection the unsubmissive, who rules over all the hosts of men; the strong man, who tramples on the neck of his foe, who treads under foot all enemies, who breaks the strength of the powerful, who under the protection of the great gods, his lords, marches here and there, and whose hand has conquered all countries, who has subdued the mountains in all their extent, and has received their tribute; the taker of hostages, who has established his power over all lands.

A VOTIVE INSCRIPTION OF ASHURNAÇIRPAL

From the Temple of Balawat.

ASHURNAÇIRPAL, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Ninib, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Assyria; son of Ramman-nirari, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Assyria; the brave hero, who, under the protection of Ashur, his lord, has marched here and there and, among the princes of the four quarters of the world, has found no rival; the king, who from beyond the Tigris to Lebanon and the great sea, Laqe, in its extent, and Suhi as far as the city of Rapiqu, brought to submission; from the head-waters of the Subnat to the passes of Kirruri, to Gilzani, from beyond the Lower Zab to the city of Til-bari, which is above Zaban, from the city Tilshabtani to the city Tilshaçabtani, the city of Hirimu, the city of Harutu, the fortresses of Karduniash to the territory of my country I restored and the broad

lands of Nairi throughout its whole extent I conquered. That city I took anew (and) I called its name Imgur-Bel. I built the temple with the brick of my palace; I set up therein an image of Mahir, my lord. I went to Lebanon. I cut down logs of cedar, of cypress (and) of juniper. I placed beams (logs) of cedar over the temple; I made doors of cedar, bound them with copper straps, and set them up in its gates. I adorned (and) decorated that temple. I seated Mahir, the great lord, therein, and I placed an inscribed tablet in his temple.

O later prince of the kings, my sons, whom Ashur may call, (if) this temple decay and thou see the tablet and read (it), repair its damages, write thy name with mine (and) restore it to its place. May Ashur, the great lord, and Mahir who dwells in this temple, look on him continuously with love! May they establish his name (and) his seed in their land! Whoever sees this tablet and speaks any evil, may Ishtar, the mistress of contest and battle, break in pieces his weapons (and) may she deprive him of his throne! Whoever sees this tablet and reads (it), cleanses it with oil, offers sacrifices, (and) restores (it) to its place, Ashur, the great lord will hear his prayers (and) in the battle of kings, in war, he will let him attain his heart's desire.

INSCRIPTION OF NABUPALIDDIN
(883–852 B. C.)

SHAMASH, the great lord, who dwells in Ebabbara which is in Sippar, which, during the uprisings and disturbances in the land of Akkad, the Sutu, a hostile foe, had overturned, (and) had destroyed (its) reliefs—his law was forgotten and his image and insignia had disappeared, and no one knew where they were. Simmasshihu, King of Babylon, made inquiry for his statue, but he (Shamash) did not reveal himself. He (the king) did not find his

image and his insignia, and he erected an inclosure before Shamash and established his regular offering; and placed them in charge of Ekurshumushabshi, the priest of Sippar, the seer.

During the distress and famine in the time of King Kasshunadinahi, this regular offering was stopped, and the drink offering fell into disuse. As for King Eulbursha-kinshum, Ekurshumushabshi, the priest of Sippar, the seer, came into the presence of the king, his lord, and said, "The dues (i. e., established offerings) of Shamash have ceased"; and he provided for Shamash one qa of food and one qa of date wine, as the support of the director of Esagila, from the dues of Bel, and he presented it to Ekurshumu-shabshi, the priest of Sippar, the seer. He (also) dedicated to Shamash a garden in the addition of Alu-esshu (the new city) which is in the midst of Babylon, and intrusted (it) to Ekurshumushabshi, the priest of Sippar, the seer.

Later on Nabupaliddin, King of Babylon, the elect of Marduk, the beloved of Anu and Ea, who makes glad the heart of Çarpanit, the manly warrior, well fitted for rule, bearer of a mighty bow, who overthrew the hostile foe, the Sutu—whose misdeeds were great—whom Marduk, the great lord, had invested with a righteous sceptre with which to rule the people, to avenge Akkad, to people cities, to found shrines, to chisel reliefs, to preserve laws and ordinances, to establish regular offerings, to look after free-will offerings—Shamash, the great lord, who for a long time had been incensed against Akkad, (and) had turned away his neck in anger, in the reign of Nabupaliddin, the King of Babylon, relented and showed favour. The relief of his image, cut in clay, his statue and insignia were found on the other side of the Euphrates toward the west; and Nabunadinshum, the priest of Sippar, the seer, of the seed of Ekurshumushabshi, the priest of Sippar, the seer, showed Nabupaliddin, the king, his lord, that relief of the image; and Nabupaliddin, the King of Babylon, who had commanded and intrusted him to

replace that image, saw that image,[1] and his countenance was glad and his spirit exultant; he directed his attention to replace that image, and with the wisdom of Ea, the co-operation of Nin-igi-nan-gar-bu, Gush-gin-ban-da, Nin-kur-ra, (and) Nin-za-dim, with pure gold (and) brilliant lapis lazuli, he carefully prepared the image of Shamash, the great lord. He washed his mouth according to the purification rite of Ea and Marduk, in the presence of Shamash in Ekarsaginna, which is on the bank of the Euphrates, and he (Shamash) took up his residence. He made offerings to his heart's content, consisting of immense oxen and large sheep, and with honey, wine, and upuntu in abundance he filled the granaries (?).

At that time, the heart of Nabupaliddin, King of Babylon, rejoiced, and his countenance became bright; he turned his face toward Nabunadinshum, the priest of Sippar, the seer, and with his shining face, his noble countenance, he looked upon him with favour in his gracious eyes. One qa of food and one qa of drink, the ancient dues of Shamash, together with the garden which Eulbarshakinshum, the king, had presented to Ekurshumushabshi, the priest of Sippar, the seer, altogether six fine garments for the whole year, a gift from the king for Shamash, A, and Bunene * * *[2] Such did Nabupaliddin, the King of Babylon, present to Nabunadinshum, the priest of Sippar, the seer, his servant; and, that there might not be a suit to recover, he sealed it and gave it for all time. At the sealing of this tablet, Mardukshumukin, the son of Habban the priest; Ibashilu, the son of Earimanni, the messenger; Marduktabikzer, the son of Tu-bal-lat-Ishtar, the mayor (?); and Mardukbalatsuiqbi, the son of Arad-Ea, the prefect, were present. At Babylon, on the 20th of Nisan, in the thirty-first year of Nabupaliddin, King of Babylon. Duplicate of the royal tablet regarding the disposition.

[1] That is, the relief, cut in clay, which had been found and was now presented by Ekurshumushabshi.

[2] The inscription continues with a list of offerings and presents, many of which are still unknown. The enumeration would be of little interest to the general reader.

Whoever in the future enters this palace as ruler and renders null the gift of the King Nabupaliddin, or presents it to another, or cuts down the allowance, or reckons it as belonging to the prefect, or appropriates it to himself, or by some evil act destroys this tablet, as for that man, by the command of Shamash, A, and Bunene, lords of fates, the great gods, may his name pass away, may his seed perish, in distress and want may his life go out, may his corpse be cast out, and may he not be granted burial!

THE MONOLITH INSCRIPTION OF SHALMANESER II (860–824 B. C.)

ASHUR, the great lord, the king of all the great gods; Anu, the king of the Igigi and Anunnaki, the lord of lands; Bel, the father of the gods, the decider of fates, who fixes the boundaries of heaven and earth; Ea, the wise, the king of the deep, the patron of the arts; Nanir of heaven and earth, the majestic; Shamash, the judge of the (four) quarters of the world, who leads mankind aright; Ishtar, the mistress of contest and battle, whose pleasure is (in) war; the great gods, who love my sovereignty, have enlarged my lordship, might and rule; my important name, my exalted fame in the presence of (?) the lords they have firmly established for me. Shalmaneser, the king of all people, the prince, the priest of Ashur, the powerful king, King of Assyria, the king of the whole of the four quarters of the world; the sun of all people, who holds dominion over all countries; the king, chosen of the gods, the beloved of Bel, the viceroy of Ashur, the watchful, the lofty prince, who discovers roads and difficult (ways); who treads the tops of the mountains (and) all the mountain forests, who receives the tribute and presents of all regions, who opens up roads above and below; before his powerful battle attack the regions (i. e., the world) become alarmed and the foundations of the countries tremble at

the power of his bravery; the manly, the powerful, who under the protection of Ashur and Shamash, the gods, his helpers, marches and among the princes of the four quarters of the world has no rival; the king of countries, the strong (one), who marches over steep roads, traverses mountains and seas; the son of Ashurnaçirpal, governor of Bel, priest of Ashur, whose priesthood was pleasing to the gods, and to whose feet they subjected all countries; the brilliant descendant of Tukulti-Ninib, who subjugated all his foes and overwhelmed them like a cyclone.

At the time when Ashur, the great lord, in the fidelity of his heart, with his clear eyes recognised me, and called me to the rule of Assyria, a powerful weapon, bringing destruction to the insubordinate, he intrusted to me all countries, and with a lofty crown he adorned my lordship, * * * he gave me stern orders to subjugate and to subdue the enemies of Ashur.

At that time, at the beginning of my rule, in the first year of my reign, (as) with pomp I took my seat upon the royal throne, I assembled my chariots (and) forces, I entered into the pass of Simesi. To the city Aridi, the stronghold of Ninni, I approached. I besieged and captured the city. I slew many of his warriors. I carried off his spoil. A pyramid of heads in front of his city I erected. Their young men (and) women I burned in a bonfire. While I was quartered in the city Aridi, I received the tribute of the Hargeans, the Harmaseans, the Simeseans, the Simereans, the Sirisheans, the Ulmaneans, horses trained to the yoke, oxen, sheep, wine.

I departed from Aridi. Steep roads, difficult mountains, which, like the point of an iron dagger, raised their peaks to the skies, with axes of bronze (and) copper I battered down. Chariots (and) forces I brought through.

I advanced to Hupushkia. Hupushkia, together with one hundred neighbouring cities, I burned with fire. Kakia, King of Nairi, and the rest of his forces, became afraid before the brilliancy of my weapons and betook themselves to the mighty mountains. I ascended the

mountains after them. A great battle I fought in the mountains (and) I accomplished their overthrow. Chariots, forces, horses trained to the yoke, from the mountains I brought back. The fear of the splendour of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them; they came down (and) seized my feet. Taxes and tribute I placed on them.

From Hupushkia I departed. To Sugunia, the stronghold of Aramu of the land of Urartu, I advanced; the city I besieged, I captured. I slew many of their warriors. I carried off his spoil. A pyramid of heads in front of his city I erected. Fourteen of his neighbouring cities I burned with fire.

From Sugunia I departed. To the sea of the land of Nairi I descended. I washed my weapons in the sea. I offered sacrifices to my gods. At that time, I made a life-size image of myself; the glory of Ashur, the lord, the prince, my lord, and the might of my power I wrote upon it and I set it up above the sea. On my return from the sea, I received the tribute of Asu of Guzana, horses, oxen, sheep, wine, two double-humped dromedaries; to my city Ashur I brought (them).

In the month Iyyar, on the 13th day I departed from Nineveh, I crossed the Tigris (and) passed over the mountains Hasamu (and) Dihnunu. To the city Lalate, of Ahuni, the son of Adini, I advanced. The fear of the splendour of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them. They went up to the [mountains]. The city I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire.

From Lalate I departed. To the city of Kira(?)qa, of Ahuni, the son of Adini, I advanced. Ahuni, the son of Adini, trusted to the mass of his forces, and [to offer] engagement and battle [he advanced against me]. Under the protection of Ashur and the great gods I fought with him (and) accomplished his overthrow. I shut him up in his city.

From Kira(?)qa I departed. To the city Burmarana, of Ahuni, the son of Adini, [I went. The city] I besieged and captured. Three hundred of their fighting men I

brought low with my weapons. A pyramid of heads in front of his city I erected. * * * I received the tribute of Hapini, of the city Til-abna, of Gauni, of the city Saru * * * Giri-Ramman, * * * silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine.

From Burmarana I departed. In ships of lamb-skins I crossed the Euphrates. I received the tribute of Katazilu, of the land of Qummuhu, silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine.

To the land of [Paqarru]hbuni, the cities of Ahuni, the son of Adini, on the other side of the Euphrates, I advanced. The overthrow of the land I accomplished, his cities I brought to destruction, (and) with the overthrow of his warriors I filled the broad plain. One thousand three hundred of his fighting men I brought low with (my) weapons.

From Paqarruhbuni I departed. To the cities of Mutalli of Gamgumu I advanced. I received the tribute of Mutalli, of Gamgumu, silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine, and his daughter with her large dowry.

From Gamgumu I departed. To Lutibu, the stronghold of Hanu of Samala, I advanced. Hanu of Samala, Sapalulme, the Patinian, Ahuni, the son of Adini, Sangara of Carchemish, trusted to each other's help, and they joined forces. They advanced to make battle, and they attacked me. With the splendid forces of Nergal, who goes before me, with the powerful weapons which Ashur, the lord, presented, I fought with them, accomplished their overthrow (and) I brought low their fighting men with (my) weapons. Like the god Ramman I rained destruction upon them. I cast them into the ditches. With the corpses of their warriors I filled the broad plain. With their blood I dyed the mountain like wool. Many chariots, horses trained to the yoke I took away from him. I erected a pyramid of heads in front of his city. I destroyed, devastated (and) burned his cities with fire.

At that time I was obedient to the greatness of the great gods, and the bravery of Ashur and Shamash I cele-

brated for the future. I made a large royal image. The course of my bravery and the deeds of my victory I wrote thereon. At the head-waters of the Saluara, which is at the foot of the mountains of Hamani, I set it up.

From Hamani I departed. I crossed the Orontes. To Aliçir, the stronghold of Sapalulme, the Patinian, I advanced. Sapalulme, the Patinian, to save his life, Ahuni, the son of Adini, Sagara of Carchemish, Hanu of Samala, Kateshu * * * of Que, Pihiri(?) of Hiluku, Buranate of Yasbuqu, Ada(?) * * * ka * * * I broke, the city I besieged, I captured * * * his numerous chariots, horses trained to the yoke * * * I carried off. [His numerous fighting men] I brought low with (my) weapons. In the same battle, my hands captured Buranate [of Yasbuqu]. The large cities of the Patinians * * * The upper [cities] of the west-land and of the western (?) Sea like the tell of a cyclone I overwhelmed. The tribute of the kings of the sea-coast I received. On the coast of the broad sea righteous and triumphant I marched. An image of my lordship, establishing my name for all time, I made and set up above the sea. To the mountains of Hamani I went up. Beams of cedar (and) cypress I cut. To the mountains of Atalur, where an image of Ashur-irbi was erected, I went. An image with his I set up. From the sea I went down. Taya, Hazazu, Nulia, Butamu of the Patinians, I captured. Two thousand eight hundred of their fighting men I killed. Fourteen thousand six hundred I carried away as prisoners. The tribute of Arame, the son of Gusi, silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine, a bed of gold and silver I received.

In my eponymy, in the month Iyyar, on the 13th day I departed from Nineveh; I crossed the Tigris and passed over the mountains Hasamu and Dihnunu; to Til-bursip, the stronghold of Ahuni the son of Adini I advanced. Ahuni, the son of Adini, trusted to the mass of his forces and he attacked me. I accomplished his overthrow; in his city I shut him up.

From Til-bursip I departed. In ships of lamb-skins I

crossed the Euphrates during high water. The city of * * * aqa(?), the city of Tagi * * * Surunu, Paripa, Tilbashere, Dabigu, six large cities of Ahuni, son of Adini, I captured. His numerous fighting men I killed, (and) their spoil I carried off. Two hundred neighbouring cities I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire.

To Dabigu, to Sazabu, the stronghold of Sangara of Carchemish, I advanced. The city I besieged, I captured. Their numerous fighting men I killed, (and) their spoil I carried off. The neighbouring cities I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. The kings of the land * * * to their extent, before the brilliancy of my powerful weapons and my raging battle, became terrified and seized my feet * * * from the land of Patina three talents of gold, one hundred talents of silver, three hundred talents of copper, three hundred talents of iron, one thousand vessels of copper, one thousand (pieces) of variegated cloth, linen, his daughter with her large dowry, twenty talents of purple cloth, five hundred oxen, five thousand sheep, I received from him. One talent of silver, two talents of purple cloth, * * * hundred beams of cedar as tribute I laid upon him. Yearly in my city Asshur I received it.

As for Hayanu, son of Gabbaru, at the foot of Mount Hamanu, ten talents of silver, ninety talents of copper, thirty talents of iron, three hundred (pieces) of variegated cloth, linen, three hundred oxen, three thousand sheep, two hundred beams of cedar, two * * * of cedar, his daughter, with her dowry, I received from him. Ten mana of silver, one hundred beams of cedar, one hundred * * * of cedar as tribute I laid upon him. Yearly I received (it).

As for Aramu, son of Agusi, ten mana of gold, six talents of silver, five hundred oxen, five thousand sheep, I received from him. As for Sangara, of Carchemish, three talents of gold, seventy talents of silver, thirty talents of copper, one hundred talents of iron, twenty talents of purple cloth, five hundred weapons, his daughter with (her) dowry and one hundred daughters of his nobles, five hundred oxen,

five thousand sheep, I received from him. Sixty mana of gold, one talent of silver, two talents of purple cloth, I laid upon him. Yearly I received (it) from him. From Katazilu, of Qummuhu, twenty mana of silver, three hundred beams of cedar, yearly I received.

In the eponymy of Ashurbelkain, in the month Tammuz, on the 13th day, I departed from Nineveh. The river Tigris I crossed and I passed over the mountains Hasamu (and) Dihnunu. At the city Til-barsip, the stronghold of Ahuni, the son of Adini, I arrived. Ahuni, the son of Adini, before the brilliancy of my mighty weapons and my raging battle, in order to save his life, crossed the Euphrates during its high water, and passed over to other lands. By the command of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, Til-barsip, Aligu * * * Shaguka as my royal city I seized. The men of Assyria I settled within (it). Palaces for my royal residence I built in its midst. Til-barsip, Kar-Shalmaneser, the name of Nappigu, Lita-Ashur, the name of Alligu, Açbatlakuna, the name of Rugulitu, Ku(dur)bit, I called their names.

At that time, to the city Ashurutiraçbat, which the Hatti call Pitru, which is on the river Sagur, beyond the Euphrates, and Mutkinu, which is on this side of the Euphrates, which Tiglath-pileser, the father, the prince, my predecessor, had taken by force, (which) in the time of Ashur-kirbi(?), King of Assyria, the King of Aramu had taken away by force; these cities I restored to their place, (and) I settled Assyrians therein.

While I was quartered in Kar-Shalmaneser, the tribute of the kings of the sea-coast, and the kings along the banks of the Euphrates, silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper (and) iron, oxen, sheep, variegated cloth and linen, I received.

From Kar-Shalmaneser I departed and crossed over the mountain Sumu. To the land of Bit-zamani I descended.

From Bit-zamani I departed. The mountains Namdanu (and) Meirsu(?) I crossed over. Steep paths, dif-

ficult mountains, which like the point of a dagger raised their peaks to the skies, with axes of bronze I broke down. Chariots (and) forces I brought through.

To the land of Enzite of the land of Ishua I descended. My hands captured Enzite to its whole extent. Their cities I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. Their spoil, their possessions and property without number, I carried off. I made a large image of my royalty. The majesty of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, and the might of my power I wrote (described) thereon. In Saluria, at the foot of Mount Kirequ I set it up.

I departed from Enzite (and) crossed the river Arzania. I advanced to Suhme. Uashtal, its stronghold, I captured. Suhme, to its whole extent, I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. Sua, the lord of their cities, I took with my hand.

From Suhme I departed. To the land of Dayaeni I descended. Dayaeni, to its whole extent, I captured. Their cities I destroyed, devastated and burned with fire. Their spoil, possessions, large property, I took away.

I departed from Dayaeni. To Arzashku, the royal city of Arramu, of Urartu, I advanced. Arramu, of Urartu, before the brilliancy of my mighty weapons, and my raging battle, became afraid. He abandoned his city and went up to the mountains of Adduri. I climbed the mountains after him and brought about a hard battle in the mountains. Three thousand four hundred of his fighting men I brought low with (my) weapons. Like Ramman I rained destruction upon them. With their blood, like wool, I dyed the mountain. His camp equipment I took away from him. His chariots, riding horses, horses, bulls, calves, his property, spoil, his large possessions, from the mountain I brought back. Arramu, in order to save his life, climbed the difficult mountains. In the strength of my manhood, like a wild bull, I trampled his land (and) his cities I turned into ruins. Arzashku, together with its neighbouring cities, I destroyed [devastated and burned with fire]. Pyramids of heads in front of his city-gate I

erected. Some in the midst [of the pyramids I walled in]. Others round about the pyramids I impaled on stakes.

From Arzashku I departed. To the mountains of the land of Eritia [I went.] A large [image of my royalty] I made. The excellence of Ashur, the great lord, my lord and the might of my power, which I had exercised in Urartu, I wrote (described) thereon. In Eritia I set (it) up.

From Eritia I departed. To * * * Aramale I advanced. His cities I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire.

From Aramale I departed. To Zanziuna I advanced * * * he avoided battle and seized my feet. Horses trained to the yoke, oxen, sheep, I received from him. I granted him favour. * * * [On my return] to the sea of Nairi I descended. The powerful weapons of Ashur I washed in the sea. I [offered] sacrifices. [A large image of my royalty] I made. The excellence of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, the course of my bravery and the deeds of my victory I wrote (described) thereon.

From the sea I departed. To the land of Gilzani I advanced. Asau, King of Gilzani, with his brothers (and) his sons came forth against me. * * * Horses trained to the yoke, oxen, sheep, wine, seven two-humped dromedaries, I received from him. A large image of my royalty I made. The excellence of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, and the might of my power, which I had exercised in Nairi, I wrote (described) thereon (and) in his city, within his temple, I set (it) up.

From Gilzani I departed. To Shilaya, the stronghold of Kaki, King of Hupushkia, I advanced. I besieged (and) captured the city (and) killed many of their fighting men. Three thousand prisoners, their oxen, their sheep, horses, bulls, calves, without number, I carried off (and) brought to my city Asshur. In the passes of Enzite I entered. In the passes of Kirruru, above Arbela, I came out.

As for Ahuni, the son of Adini, who since the time of the kings, my fathers, had exercised authority and power, in the beginning of my sovereignty, in the epon-

ymy of the year of my name, I departed from Nineveh. Til-bursip, his stronghold, I besieged. With my warriors I surrounded (it) and joined battle within it. I cut down its parks and rained the destruction of javelins upon it. Before the brilliancy of my weapons, the splendour of my lordship, he became afraid, he deserted his city (and) to save his life he crossed the Euphrates. In (my) second year, in the eponymy of Ashurbanauçur, I followed after him. The peak of the mountain Shitamrat, on the bank of the Euphrates, which hung suspended from the skies like a cloud, he had made his stronghold. By the command of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, and Nergal, who goes before me, I advanced to Shitamrat, into whose midst among the kings my fathers, no one had approached. In three days the warrior had control of the mountain, his strong heart was for war, he climbed the mountain on foot, (and) destroyed (it). Ahuni trusted to the mass of his forces and came forth against me. He formed a line of battle. The weapons of Ashur, my lord, I directed against them, and their overthrow I accomplished. I cut off the heads of his contestants and with the blood of his fighting men I dyed the mountain. Many of his (men) fled helter-skelter to the rocks of the mountains. A hard battle in his city I brought about. The fear of the splendour of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them, they came down and seized my feet. Ahuni with his forces, chariots, riding horses, the large property of their palace, whose weight was not taken, I brought back before me, caused to cross the river Tigris, brought to my city Asshur, and reckoned them with the people of my land.

In that year I went to Mazamua. Into the pass of Bunaislu I entered. I advanced to the cities Nikdime (and) Nikdera. Before the brilliancy of my powerful weapons and my raging battle they became afraid. In ships of wickerwork they put to sea. In ships (rafts) of lamb-skins I followed them. I forced a hard battle on the sea (and) accomplished their overthrow. I dyed the sea with their blood like wool.

In the eponymy of Dan-Ashur, in the month Iyyar, on the 14th day, I departed from Nineveh. I crossed the Tigris and to the cities of Giammu on the river Balich I advanced. They were afraid of the terror of my lordship (and) the brilliancy of my powerful weapons, and with their own weapons they killed Giammu, their lord. The cities Kitlala and Tilshaturahi I entered. I brought my gods into his palaces, and I made a festival in his palaces. I opened his store-house, inspected his treasure, carried off his property and possessions, and brought (them) to my city Asshur.

I departed from Kitlala (and) advanced to Kar-Shalmaneser. In ships of lamb-skins, for the second time, I crossed the Euphrates during its high water. The tribute of the kings beyond the Euphrates, (viz.) Sangar of Carchemish, Kundashpi of Qummuhu, Arame, son of Gusi, Lalli of Melitu, Hayani, son of Gabari, Kalparuda of Patinu, Kalparuda of Gamgumu, silver, gold, copper, vessels of copper, in the city of Ashuruttiraçbat, beyond the Euphrates, on the Sagur, which the Hatti call Pitru, I received.

I departed from the Euphrates (and) advanced to Halman. They avoided battle (and) seized my feet. Silver, gold, their tribute, I received. Sacrifices to Ramman of Halman I offered.

From Halman I departed (and) to the cities of Irhuleni of Hamath I advanced. Adenu, Barga, Argana, his royal city, I captured. His spoil, possessions, the property of his palaces, I brought forth (and) his palaces I set on fire.

I departed from Argana (and) advanced to Qarqara. Qarqara, his royal city, I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. One thousand two hundred chariots, one thousand two hundred riding-horses, twenty thousand soldiers of Benhadad of Damascus; seven hundred chariots, seven hundred riding-horses, ten thousand soldiers of Irhuleni of Hamath; ten thousand soldiers of Ahab, of Israel; five hundred soldiers of the Guians; one thousand soldiers of the Egyptians; ten chariots, ten thousand sol-

diers of the Irqanateans; two hundred soldiers of Matinu-bale of Arvad; two hundred soldiers of the Usanatians; thirty chariots, ten thousand soldiers of Aduni-balu of the Shianians; one thousand camels of Gindubu, the Arbean * * * ten thousand soldiers of Basa, son of Ruhubi, the Amanean; these twelve (?) kings came to his aid. To make war and battle they came against me. With the splendid forces which Ashur, the lord, had given, with the powerful weapons, which Nergal, who goes before me, had presented, I fought with them. From Qarqara to Gilzan I accomplished their overthrow. Fourteen thousand soldiers, their fighting men, I brought low with (my) weapons. Like Ramman I rained destruction upon them (and) I scattered their corpses. I filled the ruins with their numerous soldiers; with my weapons I made their blood to flow down the ravines of the district. The plain was too small for their complete overthrow; the broad stretch was used for their graves. With their bodies I dammed the Orontes like tiri. In that battle, their chariots, their riding-horses, their horses trained to the yoke, I took away from them.

FRAGMENT OF THE ANNALS OF SHALMANESER II

Containing an account of his western campaign in the eighteenth year of his reign

In the eighteenth year of my reign, for the sixteenth time, I crossed the Euphrates. Hazael of Damascus trusted to the mass of his troops and mustered his troops in large numbers. He made Saniru, a mountain peak fronting Lebanon, his stronghold. I fought with him (and) accomplished his overthrow. I brought low six thousand soldiers, his fighting men, with (my) weapon(s); one thousand one hundred and twenty-one of his chariots, four hundred and seventy of his riding-horses, with his

camp baggage, I took away from him. In order to save his life, he retreated. I followed after him (and) I shut him up in Damascus, his royal city. I cut down his parks, I went as far as the mountains of the Hauran. Cities without number I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. Their spoil beyond reckoning I carried away. I went as far as the mountains of Bali-rasi by the sea. I set up my royal image thereon. At that time, I received the tribute of the Tyrians, the Sidonians, (and) of Jehu, son of Omri.

INSCRIPTION OVER THE BAS-RELIEFS (II) ON THE BLACK OBELISK OF SHALMANESER II

Referring to the tribute of Jehu of the Omri Dynasty

I HAVE received the tribute of Jehu, the son of Omri: silver, gold, bowls of gold, chalices of gold, cups of gold, buckets of gold, lead, a sceptre of the hand of the king (and) spear-shafts(?).

INSCRIPTION OF SHAMSHI-RAMMAN (825–812 B. C.)

To Ninib, mighty lord, potentate, great (and) exalted, hero of the gods, who holds the reins of heaven and earth, universal ruler, chief of the Igigi, powerful, strong, whose might can not be equalled, first in rank among the Anunnaki, strongest of the gods, brilliant, who can not be rivalled, stalwart, the storm cloud, the exalted lord, who rides on the cyclone, who like Shamash, the light of the gods, oversees the quarters (of the world), mightiest of the gods, who pours forth brilliancy, full of terror, perfect

in physical strength, first-born of Bel, supporter of the gods, his creators, product of Esharra, victorious son, who makes the heavens brilliant, destructive weapon, offspring of Kutushar, mistress of the ordinances (?) of Anu and Dagan, whose word can not be altered, all-powerful, exalted, great, possessed of strength, with well-developed muscles, of liberal understanding, clever in diplomacy, most stalwart of the gods, exalted, who dwells in Calah, the splendid shrine, the large place, the dwelling-place of the storm cloud Shamshi-Ramman, the powerful king, king of the world, without a rival, protector of shrines, who wears a righteous sceptre, who has dominion over all lands, who rules everything * * * whose name from time immemorial the gods called, pure priest, who restored Esharra, the tireless one, who upheld the temple cult, who turned his heart and directed his attention to the affairs of Eharsagkurkurra (and) the temples of his land, son of Shalmaneser, king of the four quarters (of the world), the rival of all princes, who tramples under foot the lands, the grandson of Ashurnaçirpal, who receives taxes and gifts from every quarter (of the world).

When Ashurdaninpal, in the time of Shalmaneser, his father, had acted in a hostile manner, incited sedition (and) rebellious speech, instigated the land to revolt, gathered his forces, won over to his side the people of Assyria, above and below, had become bold of speech, had alienated the cities, and was determined on war and battle, Nineveh, Adia, Shibaniba, Imgur-Bel, Ishshibri, Bit-imdira, Shimu, Shibtinish, Udnuna, Kibshuna, Kurban, Tidu, Nabulu, Kapa, Asshur, Urakka, Amat, Huzirina, Dur-balat, Dariga, Zaban, Lubdu, Arrapha, Arbailu, together with Amedi, Tilabni, and Hindanu, in all twenty-seven cities, with their fortifications, which had alienated themselves from Shalmaneser, king of the four quarters (of the world), my father, (and) had made common cause with Ashurdaninpal, by the command of the great gods, my lords, I brought to submission.

In my first campaign, in which I went up to Nairi,

tribute (in the form of) horses spanned to the yoke, I received from all the kings of Nairi. At that time, I swept over Nairi, throughout its whole extent, as with a net. The territory of Assyria from Paddira in Nairi to Kar-Shalmaneser which is over against Carchemish; from Zaddi on the border of Akkad to Enzi; from Aridi to Suhi, by the command of Ashur, Shamash, Ramman, Ishtar, the gods, my helpers, like * * * became submissive to me.

In my second campaign, Mutarriç-Ashur, the rab-shak, wise (and) skilled in war, a man of resources, with my army and camp-baggage I ordered and sent to Nairi. He marched to the Western Sea. Three hundred cities of Hirçina, son of Miqtiara, eleven strong cities together with two hundred cities of Ushpina, he conquered, their fighting men he killed, their spoil, possessions, property, gods, sons (and) daughters he carried away; their cities he destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. On his return, he killed the fighting men of the Sunba; and he received tribute (in the form) of horses spanned to the yoke of all the kings of Nairi.

In my third campaign I crossed the river Zaban, passed over the mountain Çilar, (and) went up to Nairi. I received the tribute of Dadi of Hubushkia, of Hirçina, son of Miqtiara, of the Sunba, the Mana, Parsua, Taurla—(in the form) of horses spanned to the yoke. As for the Misa, the fear of the brilliancy of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them. They became afraid of the terror of my powerful weapons, and abandoned their cities. They seized an impassable mountain. Three mountain peaks, which, like a cloud, hung suspended from the heavens, which no bird could reach in flight, they made their strongholds. I followed in pursuit of them (and) surrounded those mountain peaks. On the first day, I pounced upon them like a vulture. I killed many of their fighting men. Their spoil, possessions, property, oxen, asses, sheep, horses spanned to the yoke, two-humped dromedaries, without number, I brought down from the mountain. Five hundred of their

neighbouring cities I destroyed, devastated and burned with fire.

To the land of Gizilbunda I marched. Kinaki I captured, destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. I passed over the Bishbizida Mountains (and) received tribute from Titamashka, of Sasiasha, Kiara of Karsibuta (in the form) of horses spanned to the yoke. The brilliancy of my lordship and the attack of my terrible battle overwhelmed the whole of Gizilbunda. They abandoned their numerous cities (and) entered into Urash, their stronghold. I stormed and captured this city (and), like red wool, I dyed the chief street of their city with the blood of their warriors. I killed six thousand of their fighting men. Pirishati, their king, with twelve hundred of his soldiers, I captured alive with my own hands. Their spoil, possessions, property, oxen, sheep, horses, vessels of silver, unalloyed gold, copper, without number, I carried away, destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. I received the tribute of Engur of Çibara. A life-size image of my royal person, which I had made, I inscribed with the deeds of Ashur, my lord, the splendour of my bravery, and whatever my hands had accomplished in Nairi, (and) I set it up in Çibara, the stronghold of the Gizilbunda. I marched to Mata. They became afraid of the mighty weapons of Ashur and my terrible battle attack, which could not be withstood, and they abandoned their cities (and) ascended the snow-capped mountains. I followed in pursuit of them. I killed twenty-three hundred fighting men of Hanaçiruka of Mata and took away one hundred and twenty of his riding-horses. His possessions (and) property, which could not be reckoned, I carried away. Sagbita, his royal city, with twelve hundred of his cities, I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire.

On my return I crossed over the Muçi Mountains. Munsuarta, of Araziasha, with ten hundred and seventy of his warriors, I brought low with my weapons. With their corpses I filled the ravines and slopes of the mountains. Their sons, daughters, possessions, property, oxen (and)

sheep, the troops of my land plundered as tribute (?). Their cities I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. At that time, the tribute of

[Lines 45 to 63 contain a list of kings who paid tribute]

kings of Nairi, all of them, by command of Ashur, Shamash, Ramman, the gods, my protectors, taxes and tribute, (in the form) of horses spanned to the yoke, for all future time I imposed on them. At that time from Çilar the great mountain to the Western Sea, like Ramman, the thunderer, I thundered over them. The fear of my brilliancy I poured out over them.

In my fourth campaign, in the month Siwan, on the fifteenth day, (I ordered) the march to Karduniash. I crossed the river Zaban. Between Zaddi and Zaban I passed over the slopes of the mountains. I killed three fierce lions. I passed over Ebih (and) besieged Me-Turnat. The fear of the brilliancy of Ashur and Marduk, the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them (and) they embraced my feet. I brought these people forth with their possessions (and) gods. I settled them in my country and reckoned them with the people of my country. I crossed the river Turnat at high water. Karne, his royal city with two hundred cities round about, I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. I passed over Yalman (and) besieged Dibina. The terror of Ashur overwhelmed them (and) they embraced my feet. Three thousand * * * along with their people, possessions (and) property I took away from that city. Datebir (and) Izduia which are situated by the side of Gananati, with two hundred cities round about I captured. I killed three hundred and thirty of their fighting men. Their spoil, possessions, property (and) gods I carried away. I cut down their parks. Their cities I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. Those who had fled before my mighty weapons entered Kiribti-alani their stronghold. I stormed (and) captured that city. I killed five hundred of its fighting men. Their spoil, their possessions, property, gods, oxen (and) sheep I carried away. The city I destroyed, devastated (and)

burned with fire. All Akkad, which had become afraid of the terror of my powerful weapons and strong battle attack, which can not be withstood, fled to Dur-Papsukal—the royal city of Bau-ahiddin, which is situated in the river, in the mass of water, (and) was not well adapted to the attack of my soldiers—(and) with the people of four hundred and forty-seven other cities they entered into it. I captured this city in the course of my campaign and brought low with my weapons thirteen thousand of its soldiers. I made their blood to flow along the chief street of their city like water. I piled the corpses of their warriors in heaps. I captured three thousand alive with my own hands. His royal couch and seat, the treasure of his palace, the women of his palaces, his possessions, property, gods, and all things necessary to his palace, without number, I carried away from this city. The booty of his warriors, like grasshoppers, they gave to the troops of my land. This city I destroyed, devastated (and) burned with fire. Marduk-balatsu-iqbi trusted to the mass of his troops, and in addition to his numerous troops he summoned Kaldu, Elam, Namri, Arumu—which were without number—and he came against me for war and battle. Above the river Daban, over against Dur-Papsukal, he had drawn up his troops in battle array. I fought with him and brought about his overthrow. I slaughtered five thousand of his people (and) took two thousand alive with my own hands; one hundred of his chariots, two hundred of his riding-horses, his royal tent, his bed (and) camp baggage I took away from him.

INSCRIPTION OF RAMMAN-NIRARI III (812–783 B. C.)

THE palace of Ramman-Nirari, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Assyria, the king whom, as a child, Ashur, king of the Igigi, called and to

whom he intrusted a kingdom without a rival. From the great sea of the rising of the sun to the great sea of the setting of the sun his hand conquered and brought everything under his rule. The son of Shamshi-Ramman, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Assyria, the king without a rival. The son of Shalmaneser, king of the four quarters (of the world), who destroyed all of his foes and overwhelmed them like a cyclone. Grandson of Ashurnaçirpal, the manly warrior who established garrisons on all sides—Ramman-Nirari, the exalted prince, to whose aid Ashur, Shamash, Ramman, and Marduk went and extended his country. Descendant of Tukulti-Ninib, King of Assyria, King of Sumer and Akkad, descendant of Shalmaneser, the great king, who enlarged E-har-sag-kur-kur-ra the mountain of the lands; descendant of Bel-kap-kapi, a former king, a predecessor, of the ancient kingdom of Sulili, whose fate, from time immemorial, Ashur had proclaimed.

INSCRIPTION OF RAMMAN-NIRARI III

THE palace of Ramman-Nirari, the great king, the powerful king, the king of the world, King of Assyria, the king whom, as a child, Ashur, king of the Igigi, called and to whom he intrusted a kingdom without a rival; whose rule he (Ashur) made beneficent like pasture-ground over the people of Assyria and whose throne he founded; the pure priest, who restored Esharra, the tireless, who upheld the temple cult, who marched under the protection of Ashur, his lord, and brought to submission the princes of the four quarters (of the world); who conquered from the mountain Siluna, toward the rising sun, Çab, Ellipi, Harhar, Araziash, Misu, Mada, Gizilbunda throughout its extent, Munna, Parsua, Allabria, Abdadana, Nairi, to its whole extent, Andiu, which is afar off, the slope of the mountain, to its whole extent, as far as the great sea of the rising of

the sun; from above the Euphrates, Hatti (the Hittite Land), Aharri, to its whole extent, Tyre, Sidon, the country of Omri, Edom, Palastu as far as the great sea of the setting of the sun, I brought to submission, (and) taxes and tribute I placed on them. To the country of Damascus I went. Mari, king of the land of Damascus in Damascus, his royal city, I shut up. The fear of the brilliancy of Ashur, his lord, overwhelmed him, and he seized my feet (and) became my servant. Twenty-three hundred talents of silver, twenty talents of gold, three thousand talents of copper, five thousand talents of iron, variegated and linen clothing, an ivory bed, a seat inlaid with ivory * * * his possessions (and) property which could not be reckoned, in Damascus, his royal city, in his palace I received. The kings of Kaldu, all of them, became servants. Taxes (and) tribute for the future I placed on them. Babylon, Borsippa (and) Kutha supported the decrees of Bel, Nabu (and) Nergal. Pure sacrifices * * *

THE NIMRUD INSCRIPTION OF TIGLATH-PILESER III (745–727 B. C.)

THE palace of Tiglath-pileser, the great king, the mighty king, king of the whole world, King of Assyria, King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world; the hero, the warrior, who under the protection of Ashur, his lord, dashed to pieces like pots all those who were disobedient to him, swept over them like a cyclone, and gave them to the winds; the king who at the call of Ashur, Shamash, and Marduk, the great gods, marched here and there and ruled over lands from the Salt Sea of Bit-Yakin to Mount Bikni in the east, and from the Western Sea[1] to Egypt, and from the horizon to the zenith,[2] and exercised kingship over them.

From the beginning of my kingship until the seven-

[1] That is, the Mediterranean. [2] That is, from north to south.

teenth year of my reign I conquered the peoples of Itu, Rubu Hamarani, Luhuatu, Harilu, Rubbu, Rapiqu, Hiranu, Rabilu, Naçiru, Gulusu, Nabatu, Rahiqu, Na[kru], Rummulutu, Adili, Kipri, Ubudu, Gurumu, Bagdadu, Hindiru, Damunu, Dunanu, Nilqu, Radi, Da * * *, Ubulu, Karma, Amlatu, Rua, Qabi, Litau, Marusu, Amatu, Hagaranu, the cities of Dur-Kurigalzi, Adidu (?), the fortresses of Sarragiti, Labbanat, Kar-belmatati, all of the Arameans living in the valleys of the Tigris, Euphrates, and Surappi as far as the river Uknu on the coast of the Lower Sea[1]; I killed their warriors and carried away their spoil. I added the Arameans, as many as there were, to the territory of Assyria, and I set my military governor over them as ruler of the province.

Upon Tel-Kamri, which is called Humut, I built a city and called its name Kar-Ashur, and placed in it the inhabitants of lands conquered by my hands. In Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, Kutu, Kish, Dilbat, and Uruk —cities without equals, I offered pure sacrifices to Bel, Çarpanit, Nabu, Tashmetu, Nergal, and Laz, the great gods, my lords, and they looked with love upon my priesthood. I took possession of the broad land of Karduniash throughout its entire extent and exercised kingship over it. I overthrew the Puqudu as with a net, slew their warriors and carried away great spoil from them. These Puqudu and the cities Lahiru of Idibirina, Hilimmu and Pillutu, which is on the border of Elam, I added to the territory of Assyria, and placed them under the administration of my military governor, the ruler of the city of Arrapha.

I carried away the Kaldudu, as many as there were of them, and settled them in Assyria. Chaldea throughout its entire extent I overthrew as with a bird-net. I killed the warriors of Nabushabshi, son of Shilani, close by Sarrabanu, his city, and I impaled him before the gate of his city, and reduced his country to submission. I captured Sarrabanu by means of earthworks and battering-engines; and I carried off as spoil fifty-five thousand in-

[1] That is, the Persian Gulf.

habitants together with their possessions, his spoil, his goods, his property, his wife, his sons, his daughters, and his gods. That city together with the cities round about it I laid waste, destroyed, burned with fire and reduced to mounds and plough-land.

I captured the cities Tarbaçu and Yaballu; and I carried away as spoil thirty thousand of their inhabitants together with their possessions, their goods, their property, and their gods. Those cities together with the cities round about them I destroyed, so that they were like a ruin of the flood.

Zaqiru, son of Sha'alli, violated the compacts sworn to by the great gods and made common cause with my enemies. I captured him together with his great men, put iron chains on them and took them to Assyria. The inhabitants of Bit-Sha'alli became afraid and took possession of Dur-[ilu Illat-ai], their [capital] for their fortress. I captured that city by means of mines and battering-engines and razed it to the ground. I carried away as spoil fifty thousand four hundred inhabitants together with their possessions, their spoil, their goods, his[1] wife, his sons, his daughters, and his gods. I captured the city Amlilatu; its inhabitants together with their possessions, its spoil and its property I carried away as spoil. I swept over Bit-Sha'alli throughout its entire extent like a cyclone and laid waste its dwellings. I added those lands to the territory of Assyria. I shut up Ukin-zir of Amukkani, in Sapia, his capital, and killed his many warriors before its gate. I cut down the palm-groves which were close by its wall and I left not a tree standing. I destroyed his date-palms which were in his land, plucked off their fruit, and filled the fields with it. All of his cities I laid waste, destroyed and burned with fire. I devastated the lands of Bit-Shilani, Bit-Amukkani, and Bit-Sha'alli throughout their entire extent so that they were like a ruin of the flood, and I reduced them to mounds and plough-land. I received tribute of Balasu of Dakkuri, and of Nadin, of

[1] That is, Zaqiru's wife.

ASSAULT OF A CITY BY TIGLATH-PILESER II (III).

A sculptured slab from the ruins of his palace at Nimrud, the ancient Calah.

Larak, consisting of silver, gold, and precious stones. Fear of the brilliance of Ashur, my lord, overcame Merodach-baladan, of Yakin, king of the sea (-land), who had not come into the presence of any of the kings my fathers nor kissed their feet, and he came to Sapia, into my presence, and kissed my feet. Gold—the dust of his land—in abundance, vessels of gold, necklaces of gold, precious stones, the product of the sea, beams of ushu-wood, ellutu-wood, * * * party-coloured clothing, spices of all kinds, cattle and sheep, I received as his tribute.

The lands of Namri, Bit-Sangibuti, Bit-Hamban, Sumurzu, Barrua, Bit-Zualzash, and Bit-Matti; the city Niqu, of the land of Umliash; the lands of Bit-Taranzai, Parsua, Bit-Zatti, Bit-Abdadani, Bit-Kapsi, Bit-Sangi, Bit-Tazzakki, and Bit-Ishtar; the city Zakruti; the lands of Gizinikissi and Nissha; the cities of Çipur and Urimzan; the lands of Rausan, [Ni]paria, Bustus, Ariarmi, Tarsharranihu, Saksukni, Araquttu, Kar-Zibra, Gukinnana, Bit-Sagbat, Silhazi, which men call the strength of the Babylonian; the mountain Ruadi; the lands Bit-tabti, Ushqaqqana, and Shikraki, (a land) of gold; districts of the mighty Medes, throughout their entire extent I covered as with a bird-net and I slew their warriors in great numbers. I carried away as spoil sixty-five thousand people, together with their possessions, their horses, their mules, their dromedaries, and their cattle and sheep without number. Their cities I laid waste, destroyed and burned with fire, and reduced them to mounds and plough-land. The lands of Namri, Bit-Sangibuti, Bit-Hamban, Sumurzu, Bit-Barrua, Bit-Zualzash, and [Bit-] Matti; the city Niqu, of the land of Umliash; the lands of Bit-Taranzai, Parsua, Bit-Zatti, Bit-Abdadani, Bit-Kapsi, Bit-Sangi, and Bit-Tazzakki; and the cities of Bit-Ishtar and [Zak]ruti, of the land of the mighty Medes, I added to the territory of Assyria. I built anew the cities which were in them, established the authority of Ashur, my lord, therein and placed in them people from the lands which my hands had conquered. I set my military governor over them as ruler of the prov-

ince. I erected an image of my lordship in the land of Tikrakki, in the cities of Bit-Ishtar and Çipur, in the lands of Ariarmi and Tarsharranihu, and in the city Silhazi, which are called the strength of the Babylonian. I received tribute of Media, Ellip, and the rulers of all the cities of the mountains as far as Bikni [which is in the east], consisting of horses, mules, dromedaries, cattle, and sheep * * * The might and majesty of Ashur, my lord, which I had exercised in all the mountains [he heard of and] fear of the brilliance of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed him, and to the city Dur-Tiglath-pileser * * * into my presence he came and kissed [my feet]. [Horses], mules, cattle and sheep, weapons, * * * [I received as his tribute]. I sent my military governor Ashurdaninani to the land of the mighty Medes which is in the east; [he seized five thousand horses, people, cattle and sheep without number]. I conquered the lands of Ulluba and Kilhu in their entirety and added them to the territory of Assyria. [I built a city in the land of Ulluba and called its name Ashur-iqi-sha]. I founded a palace therein as the abode of my kingship; I established there the authority of Ashur, my lord; I settled therein people from the lands that my hands had conquered; and I set my military governor over them as ruler of the province. [Sardurri] of Urartu, Sulumal of Milid, Tarhulara [of Gurgum] * * * and Kushtashpi of Kummuh, [made common cause] for conquest and plunder * * * between Kishtan and Halpi, districts of Kummuh [I brought about their defeat]. * * * [with the blood of] their [slain I coloured] the Sinzi canal like dyed wool * * * I seized them in the midst of * * * royal beds * * *

[About one hundred lines missing here]

* * * her [heavy tribute she brought] to me [and I set a prefect over] her. [The people of Birai I subdued beneath my feet.] [The people of Mas]ai, Tema, Saba, Haiappa, Badana, [Hatte, Idibaila] * * * on the border of the lands [of the setting] sun, whom no one knows and whose location is far off, heard of the majesty of my lord-

ship and * * * [gold, silver,] camels, she-camels, and spices of all kinds as one man [they brought] to [me] as their tribute [and kissed my feet]. I made Idibi'il prefect over Egypt. In all the lands which [I had overthrown I established the authority of Ashur]. [The tribute] of Kushtashpi, of Kummuh; and of Urik, of Que; and of Sibittibi'il, [of Gebal] * * * [and of In]il, of Hammat; and of Panammu, of Samal; and of Tarhulara, of Gurgum; and of Sul[umal, of Melid]; * * * and of Uassurme, of Tabal; and of Ushhitti, of Tuna; and of Urballa, of Tuhan; and of Tuhamme, [of Ishtunda]; * * * and of Matanbi'il of Arvad; and of Sanipu, of Beth-Ammon; and of Salamanu, of Moab; * * * and of Metinti, of Askelon; and of Jauhazi, of Judah; and of Kaushmalaka, of Edom; and of Muçri * * * and of Hanno, of Gaza; gold, silver, lead, iron, tin, party-coloured clothing, linen, the purple robes of their land * * * [whatever] was precious, products of sea and land, the desirable things of their land, the treasures of royalty, horses, mules, yoked teams, * * * [I received]. Uassurme, of Tabal, sought to rival the deeds of Assyria and did not come into my presence. My military governor, the chief officer,[1] * * * Hulli, the son of a nobody, I placed on his royal throne; ten talents of gold, one thousand talents of silver, two hundred horses, * * * I sent my military governor, the chief officer, to Tyre; from Mitenna, of Tyre, [I received] one hundred and fifty talents of gold * * *

With the understanding, skill, and far-reaching thought which the messenger of the gods, the prince Nugimmut had given me, a palace of cedar * * * and a porch, like a palace in the land of the Hittites, I built for my enjoyment in the city of Kalhi * * * I increased the area of ground more than that of the former palaces of my fathers from the middle of the Tigris * * * I employed the architectural skill (?) of all the clever workmen * * * Twenty great cubits below the mighty waters I piled up strong granite like a mountain-pile and * * * [on right] * * *

[1] Literally, the Rab-shak, cf. Isaiah, xxxvi, 2, 4, etc.

I laid out their terraces, made their foundations firm and reared their turrets aloft. One half gar, two thirds cubit the house * * * I joined together and I set up their gates on the north side. With ivory, ushu-wood, urkarinu-wood, palm-wood * * * [cypress,] * * * [pistachio,] juniper, the tribute of the kings of the Hittites, the princes of Aram and Chaldea, whom by the might of my strength I had brought to my feet * * * I filled. Five and a half gar, four cubits from the bottom of the water to the battlements I bound their structure together and made their work greater than that of the palaces of the lands. I covered them with long beams of cedar, which like the fragrance of hashurri-wood are good for their perfume, and are the product of Amanus, Lebanon, and Ammanana, and I joined them firmly. In order to make the decorations splendid * * * with stones hewn by the stone-cutter I built and adorned the gate. Doors of cedar and cypress, in pairs, whose entrance brings blessing and whose fragrance arouses the heart, I bound with a rim of zahalu-metal and bright metal and hung in the gateway. Lions and bull-colossi, whose forms were exceedingly artistic and clothed with splendour, I made to hold the entrances and set them up as objects of wonder. I laid thresholds of Im-tu stone and alabaster beneath them and made the entrance bright. I also built a statue to keep guard over the great gods; I surrounded the sides with the product of the ocean depths and I invested it with terror. I surrounded them with braces (?) of gold, silver, and copper for their completion and I made their forms resplendent.

For my royal dwelling, a habitation of sassu precious stones, the work of * * * I built therein. "Palaces of joy, yielding abundance, bestowing blessing upon the king, causing their builder to live long," I called their names. "Gates of righteousness, guiding the judgment of the prince of the four quarters of the world, making the tribute of the mountains and the seas to continue, causing the abundance of the lands to enter before the king, their lord," I named their gates.

THE CYLINDER INSCRIPTION OF SARGON (722–705 B. C.)

SARGON, the governor of Bel, the exalted priest of Ashur, the darling of Anu and Dagan, the great king, the powerful king, the king of the world, the King of Assyria, the king of the four quarters (of the world), the favourite of the great gods, the legitimate ruler, to whom Ashur and Marduk granted a kingdom without equal and the fame of whose name they sent forth to the ends of the earth; who exercised watchful care over Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon, who protected their weak points and restored their ruins; who preserved the supremacy of (the city) Asshur, which had ceased;[1] who imposed servitude on Dur-ilu and pacified its people by force.

The strongest of all princes, who extended his protection over Harran and, in accordance with the will of Anu and Dagan, wrote its charter. The manly, the powerful, clothed with (awe-inspiring) splendour, who sent forth his weapons for the overthrow of (his) enemies.

The king, who from the day of his accession had no rival prince and in contest and battle did not find a superior, who dashed to pieces all the lands like pots and enslaved (?) the four quarters (of the world); who explored mighty mountains without number—though their passes were steep—and found a way through them, who marched over inaccessible (and) difficult paths—terrible regions—and crossed the sources of streams; who held sway from Rashi on the border of Elam, the people of Puqudu, the people of Damunu, the cities Dur-Kurigalzu and Rapiqu, over all the wilderness to the brook of Egypt, over the broad west-land, the land of the Hittites to its whole extent, whose strong hand conquered from the land of Hashmar to the land of Çimashpatti, the far-off land of the Medes in the east, the land of Namru, the land of Ellip,

[1] Delitzsch: who removed servitude from Dur-ilu and gave peace to its people.

Bit-Hamban, Parsua, Manna, Urartu, Kashku, Tabal to Muski; who placed his military officers as governors over them and imposed on them taxes and tribute, as if they were Assyrians.

The courageous hero, who measured his strength in the open street of Dur-ilu with Humbanigash, King of Elam, and brought about his overthrow, who took away by force the Kurtesa, who had raided (?) his territory (?); who led into captivity the people of Tumuna, who had bound (?) their prince and had brought him before the Chaldean king; who devastated the broad Bit-Humri (land of Israel), who brought about the overthrow of Egypt at Raphia and brought Hanno, King of Gaza, bound to the city of Asshur; who conquered the tribes Tamud, Ibadidi, Marsiman, and Haiapa, who punished (?) the rest of them and settled them in colonies in Bit-Humri.

The strong one in battle, who caught the Ionians in the midst of the sea like fish in large numbers (?); who pacified by force Que and Tyre. The powerful king, the royal protector, who broke the palisades of Shinuhtu, laid its site in ruins and burned Kiakku, their king, like stubble; who transplanted the people of Bit-Burutash ,whose prince had forgotten the favours of Sargon and put his trust in the kings of Urartu and Musku, strong powers; who drove out Meta, King of Musku, and restored the fortresses of Que, which had been taken, and enlarged their territory.

A man of courage, fearless of opposition, who uprooted Hamath, who dyed the skin of Ilubidu, the usurper (?), like red wool; who seized Carchemish in the hostile Hittite country; whose strong hand captured Pisiri, their subject, who had planned a revolt; who made desolate the land of Urartu, despoiled the Muçaçiru; before whom Ursa, King of Urartu, in his great fear took his life with his own weapon; who changed the sites of Papa, Laluknu, Sukkia, Bala, Abitikna, who had intrigued openly against the land of Kakmu; who swept over Andia and Zikirtu, who killed all their young men like wild animals and sprinkled over all enemies deadly poison.

The powerful one, perfect in might and strength, who subjugated the stubborn Medes; who destroyed the people of Harhar and enlarged the territory of Assyria; who reunited the disorganized Manna, who brought about order in Ellip, which had been in disorder, who established (his) dominion over all the lands round about and made his name famous; who trampled under foot the land of Kirhu, plundered (?) the mountain-country of the strong enemy; who drove out Itti, the Allabrian robber, from his city; who destroyed Karalla, who decorated the skin (?) of Ashur-leu, their city prefect, like a garment (?) and imposed the yoke of Assyria upon Ada of Shurdu.

The prudent king, full of noble plans, who directed his attention to the colonizing of ruined sites, to the opening up of the land and the planting of çippat-cane; who turned his energy to make the high mountains, on which from time immemorial nothing green had sprouted, to bear produce; who planned to make the broad, waste land, which under former kings had not been irrigated, to bring forth grain and to resound with rejoicing, to reconstruct reservoirs (?), which had fallen in (?), and dams, and to furnish water in abundance to all parts of the country like a mighty flood.

The king open to suggestion, with a clear insight * * * who grew up in wise counsel and matured in diplomacy. To fill the granaries of the broad country of Assyria with food in rich abundance and with provisions in plenty (?), as becomes royalty, to protect the firstlings of admu (?) against hunger and want and to guard against the lack of grain and such things as the heart desires, so that—in spite of the destruction of wine—no needy one be found; in order that oil, the boon of men, which heals ulcers, may not be too dear in my land, to make sesame-corn of the same price with corn, to order my banquets as becomes the table of god and king, bill-boards with set prices of everything to set upon my boundaries * * *

I planned day and night to rebuild that city, I gave orders to build therein a shrine for Shamash, the great judge

of the great gods, who helped me to victory. Magganubba, which stands like a monument at the foot of Mount Muçru above the wells and the street of Nineveh, whose site among the three hundred and fifty ancient kings, who before me exercised authority over Assyria and ruled over the subjects of Bel no one had touched, no one had known how to colonize it and no one had remembered to dig its canal (moat), with my broad understanding, which by the command of the king of the deep and lord of wisdom was filled with diplomacy and full of clever schemes, and with the broad plans of my mind—I, whom the queen of the heavenly crown, the mother of the gods, had inspired to greater plans than the kings, my fathers, I planned and schemed day and night to people that city, to build high sanctuaries, the homes of the great gods, and palaces for the residence of my lordship, and I gave orders to rebuild it.

For the sake of my good name, by which the great gods had called me to protect right and justice, to rule over the defenceless and not to harm the weak, I paid money to the owners in silver and copper for the fields of that city according to the price-list, and to avoid injustice I gave to those, who did not wish money for their fields, field for field, wherever they desired. For the progress of its building before * * * (?) I offered a sacrifice (?) with fervid prayer to the brothers Damqu and Sharru-ilu, the judges of mankind, and I lifted up my hand (in prayer) in the chamber of the World-architect to Sha-nit(?)-ka, that I might in future days enter it with a joyful heart and good spirits. The sincere speech of my mouth like the finest oil was very pleasing to the exalted prophets (?) my lords, and they gave me orders to rebuild that city and to dig its canal (moat). I trusted their word, which no one can render void, I mustered my numerous young men and made them to carry allu and dupshikku.[1]

In the beginning of the month of the son of Dara-gala

[1] Allu = basket (?), dupshikku = cap of service; they were forced to do hard service.

(Ea), who gives decisions, who warns from snares, of the light of heaven and earth, hero of the gods, Sin, which received its name "Month of the Brick-God" by a decree of Anu, Bel, and Ea, lord of wisdom, because in it bricks are made, and cities and houses built; on the festival day of the son of Bel, the all-wise Nabu, writer of all tablets, ruler of all the gods, I ordered the making of its bricks; to the brick-god, the lord of brick foundations, and the chief architect of Bel, I offered a sacrifice and poured out libations and lifted up my hands (in prayer). In Ab, the month of the servant of the fire-god, who destroys fresh vegetation, who lays the platform foundations of city and house, I founded it and laid its brick.

Well-founded shrines, which were founded as if for all time, I built therein to Ea, Sin, Ningal, Ramman, Shamash, and Ninib. I built a palace of ivory, of ushu-wood, of box(?)-wood, of palm(?)-wood, of cedar-, cypress-, juniper-, and pistacia-wood for my royal residence; I constructed a colonnade after the style of a Hittite palace in front of its gates, and I covered it with beams of cedar and cypress. Four sar, three ner, one sos, three kane, two cubits,[1] the (numerical) value of my name, I made the measure of its wall, and laid its platform foundation on stones from the high mountains.

In front and behind, on both sides, in the direction of the eight winds I opened eight city-gates: "Shamash, who granted to me victory," "Ramman, who controls its prosperity," I named the gates of Shamash and Ramman on the east side; "Bel, who laid the foundation of my city," "Belit, who gives riches in abundance," I named the gates of Bel and Belit on the north side; "Anu, who gave success to the work of my hands," "Ishtar, who causes its people to flourish," I made the names of the gates of Anu and Ishtar on the west side; "Ea, who controls its springs," "Belit-ilani, who grants to it numerous offspring," I ordered to be the names of the gates of Ea and Belit-ilani on the south side. (I called) its inner wall

[1] $4 \times 3{,}600 + 3 \times 600 + 60 + 3 \times 6 + 2 = 16{,}280$ cubits.

"Ashur, who granted long reign to the king, its builder, and protected his armies"; and its outer wall "Ninib, who laid the foundation of the new building for all time to come."

The subjects of the four quarters (of the world, speaking) strange languages and varied dialects, inhabitants of mountain and plain, over whom the warrior of the gods, lord of all, rules, whom I had carried into captivity in the name of Ashur, my lord, with my powerful staff, I made of one speech and settled them therein.

I sent to them Assyrians, men of knowledge and insight, learned men and scribes, to teach them the fear of God and king. The gods, who dwell in heaven and on earth and in that city, looked with favour upon my command and granted to me for all time (the privilege of the) building of the city and (of) making it permanent.

Whoever alters the work of my hands, tears down my images, covers the bas-reliefs which I make, destroys my insignia: may Ashur, Shamash, Ramman, and the gods dwelling therein remove his name and seed from the land and set him bound at the feet of his enemy!

THE MERODACHBALADAN STONE IN BERLIN (721–710 B. C.)

When Marduk, the great lord, the wisest of the gods, the king of everything, the autocrat of the Igigi and the Anunnaki, the most perfect commander, the herald of all heaven and earth, the adviser of the gods, his creators, the lord of that which is above and below; the ruler of mankind, whose words can not be made void, whose command can not be altered, granted (his) favour to Akkad, from which he had turned away in wrath; he looked about among all men, he searched the abodes among all the Black-headed People, to all habitations, every one, he gave faithful attention—Merodachbaladan, King of Babylon, who was under the guidance of his hand, the governor of Sumer

and Akkad, who feared his divinity, he looked upon with joy, and he gave orders by word of mouth to exalt his lordship: "This is the ruler, who collects the scattered." He intrusted to his hands a righteous sceptre, a staff leading the people aright. He submitted to his order the giving of counsel to Sumer and Akkad, the judgment of all men. He made the power of his lordship great in the assembly of the princes.

At that time Merodachbaladan, King of Babylon, the prince, the adviser, King of Sumer and Akkad, who feared Nabu and Marduk, the gods of Esagila and Ezida, who filled their granaries (?) with plenty, who made brilliant all temples, repaired all shrines, who ruled Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon aright, who put into effect their laws; who built the temples, confessionals (?) and shrines of the large cities, who yearly hastened to bring (?) before the great gods his rich tribute, the riches of the broad sea, plenty in abundance (?), toll and presents, who sought out the commands of the lord of the gods, who prostrated himself before him (?), who directed his attention to the repairing of temples, to the peopling of cities, and to the sacred care of the districts (?) of the gods; the faithful governor, who, under the protection of the great gods, marches here and there and attains his goal, who gathers together the inhabitants of the countries, who were scattered, and returns them to their abodes; the exalted prince, who in power and strength (?) does not have his like; the powerful hero, at the mention of whose name his enemy is cruelly driven out before him, the firmest (?) foundations (?) are torn down; who, with the mighty power of Bel, attained whatever his heart desired; clothed with power, of ancient royal seed, who holds unstained the name of his father, his begetter; the offspring of Erba-Marduk, King of Babylon, who founded the country, who, in the temples of the cities of the great gods, placed works of art; the clever prince, of broad view, the diplomatic arbitrator, who understands everything, of broad insight and deep understanding, who is his own counsellor; whose

birth Beltis, the mother of the gods, celebrated; whose name to dominion over the Black-headed People the king of heaven and earth, the lord of lords, faithfully proclaimed; (then) he, with the wisdom of his deeds, the clever understanding which Ea, the source of all creation, presented him; with the broad plans with which the "Lord of Wisdom" (Ea) intrusted him, the holy places of Nabu and Marduk, his lords, (he) took under his care and to give ground-plots to the subjects in Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, and the cities of Akkad was his command.

The old ground-plots of the Babylonians, which the soldiers of the enemy in the destruction (of the country) had taken away, and whose boundaries, during the time there was no fixed government, foreigners being present (?) in large numbers (?), were forgotten—surveys were not established; their boundary-stones (?) were changed but not destroyed—he returned to their (original) ownership, and to the subjects in Babylon and Borsippa he intrusted. A single one he did not pass over; to young and old he gave (caused to take) alike, and he fixed the boundary; he made it larger than before, and caused their spirits to rejoice. To the subjects, as many as there were, he gave protection, presented gifts, and granted livings.

At that time Bel-ahe-erba, mayor of Babylon, his obedient servant, under the guidance of his hand, Merodachbaladan, the kind, his lord, with his shining face, like a god, joyfully looked upon, and 16,600 cubits, upper length, S, adjoining Bel-ana-matishu and the "Fifty" of the Babylonians, 16,600, lower length, N, adjoining the "Fifty" of the Babylonians, and the canal Suru; 1,200, the upper breadth, W, 40 (?) apportioned (?) pi-it (?) of Erba-Marduk, King of Babylon; 1,200, lower breadth, E, adjoining tam-li-ta me, in all: 50 gur of plough-land, according to the large square cubit, land on the canal Suri.

Ten thousand cubits, upper length, W, adjoining Nabugamil, son of Karea, and the plot of the city Bit-ashani; 10,000, lower length, E, adjoining Kudurru, son of Egibi, and Ahiddin, son of Mushallimapli; 1,600, upper breadth,

N, adjoining the royal domain; 1,600, lower breadth, S, on the bank of the canal of Aheshullim, opposite the city Nabatu. In all: 54 gur 2 pi 6 qa of plough-land, according to the large square cubit, the field of Nabatu.

Two gur of plough-land, according to the large square cubit, date-palm garden, field of Dunni-edin, on the bank of the royal canal; 3,300 cubits, upper length, S, on the bank of the royal canal, 3,300, lower length, N, adjoining the libbu of the field, and bordering on the grove of Marduk, son of Kanik-babi; 400, upper breadth, W, bordering on the park of Belamma, the weaver's son; 30, lower breadth, E, nurzu (?) on the bank of the royal canal; and 3 gur of plough-land, according to the large square cubit, * * * in front of the upper park of the libbu of the field; upper length, S, bordering on the park; lower length, N, bordering on the libbu of the field; upper breadth, W, bordering on the field of Nammua, son of the priest of Ramman; lower breadth, E, bordering on Marduk. In all: five gur of plough-land, according to the large square cubit, park together with plough-land, in front of the park, field of the city Dunni-edin, on the bank of the royal canal.

Sum total, 90+9 gur 2 pi 6 qa of plough-ground, according to the large square cubit, plot of the royal domain, Merodachbaladan, King of Babylon, to Belaherba, mayor (?) of Babylon, his servant, presented and in order that there might not be a suit to recover, with the seal of his name he sealed it and for all time he gave to him.

In the sealing of this tablet, Iqisha-Marduk, son of the king; Ninib-belshunu, son of Nazi-Ea; Marduk-zakir-shum, son of Arad-Ea, the prefect; Nabü-balatsu-iqbi; Ina-dibbi(?)-Bel-AB, city officer of Babylon; Nabu-hamatua, major-domo; Labashi-Marduk, son of Dabibi, director of Esagila; Nabu-ta, son of Arkati-ilani-damqa, mayor (?) of Borsippa; Ishum-bani, son of Sin-pi-sharri-ishme, mayor (?) of Kutha; and Nabu-nir-dabibi, palace secretary, were present. Babylon, twenty-third of Tammuz, seventh year of Merodachbaladan, King of Babylon.

Whoever in the future, whether king, or king's son, or prefect, or governor, or director, or city officer, whose name the great lord Marduk may proclaim and who exercises authority over Akkad, to destroy this tablet directs his attention, in any way whatever practises deceit, urges and orders any one, an enemy, a deaf person, a fool, a blockhead, a short-sighted (?) ignorant (person), a knave, who does not fear the great gods, with wicked intentions sends, changes its position, throws (it) in the water, hides (it) in the ground, burns (it) with fire, erases (it) with a stone, sets it in a secret place, places it where it can not be seen, obliterates the signature, directs his attention to take away the ground-plot, the gift, which Merodachbaladan, King of Babylon, presented to Belaherba, mayor (?) of Babylon, that man, may Anu, Ea, and Bel, the great gods, present with a curse which can not be undone, with blindness, deafness, paralysis of the muscles! May he suffer misery! May Marduk, Çarpanit, the lords, who decide fates, cause him to undergo heavy punishment! May they afflict him with dropsy! May his life (skin) come to an end with bloated flesh (?)! May the great gods, as many as have their names mentioned on this tablet, his name, his seed, his progeny, destroy in the mouth of the people! May they cut off his future!

With the royal seal used in dispositions, which has no like and against which there can be no suit to recover, this tablet has been sealed (?).

THE TAYLOR CYLINDER OF SENNACHERIB, KING OF ASSYRIA (705–681 B. C.)

SENNACHERIB, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Assyria, king of the four quarters of the world; the watchful shepherd, the favourite of the great gods, who protects the truth, who loves the right,

who comes to the help of and lends assistance to the weak, who frequents the sanctuaries; the perfect hero, the man of war, chief of all princes; the great one, who consumes the rebellious, who strikes the hostile with lightning—Ashur, the great mountain, has granted me a kingdom without rival, and he has made my arms prevail over all who dwell in princely halls. From the Upper Sea of the Setting Sun to the Lower Sea of the Rising Sun he has made submissive to me the Black-headed People, and the rebellious princes have shunned battle with me, abandoned their homes, and like a falcon in the clefts they have fled alone to an inaccessible place.

In my first campaign, in the vicinity of Kish, I brought about the overthrow of Merodachbaladan, King of Karduniash, together with the troops of Elam, his allies. In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp, and saved his life by fleeing alone. My hands captured the chariots, horses, freight wagons (and) mules which he had left behind in the onset of battle. I entered his palace, which is in Babylon, with joy and opened his treasure house; gold and silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones of every description, possessions, and goods, without number, a heavy tribute, his palace women, his ministers, his male and female musicians, all the artisans, as many as there were, his palace officials, I brought forth and reckoned as spoil. With the might of Ashur, my lord, I besieged, captured, and carried away the spoil of seventy-five of the large, walled cities of Kaldu and of four hundred and twenty of the smaller cities round about them. The Arabians, Arameans, and Chaldeans of Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Harsagkalama, Kutha, and Sippara, together with the inhabitants of the cities who were rebellious I brought forth and reckoned as spoil. On my return, the Tumuna, the Rihihu, the Yadaqqu, the Ubudu, the Kipre, the Malahu, the Gurumu, the U-bu-lum, the Damunu, the Gambulu, the Hindaru, the Ru'ua, the Puqudu, the Hamranu, the Hagaranu, the Nabatu, the Litau, Arameans, who were rebellious, I conquered en

masse. Two hundred and eight thousand people, small and great, male and female, horses and mules, asses, camels, cattle, and sheep, without number, a heavy spoil, I carried away to Assyria. During the course of my campaign I received from Nabu-bel-shanati, the prefect of Hararati, gold, silver, tall palms (?), asses, camels, cattle, and sheep, his rich present. The men of Hirimmu, a stubborn enemy, I brought low with my weapons, and a single one did not escape. Their corpses I hung on posts and placed them round the city. I reconquered that district, and for the gods of Assyria, my lords, I set aside for all time one steer, ten rams, ten measures of wine, twenty measures of dates, its first fruits.

In my second campaign, Ashur, my lord, gave me his support, and I marched to the country of the Kassites and of the Yasubigalli, who from time immemorial had not been submissive to the kings, my fathers. Through the high mountain forests, a rough country, I rode on horse, and I hauled up my chariot with ropes. The steepest places I climbed on foot like a wild ox. I besieged and captured Bit-Kilamzah, Hardishpi, and Bit-Kubatti, their large walled cities. I brought forth from their midst people, horses, mules, asses, cattle, and sheep, and reckoned them as spoil; and their smaller cities, which were without number, I destroyed, devastated, and reduced to plough-land. The tents, their dwelling-places, I burned with fire, and let them go up in flames. I returned and used the city Bit-Kilamzah as a fortress. I made its walls stronger than ever, and I settled therein the people of the countries captured by my hands. I brought down from the mountains the Kassites and Yasubigalli, and made them dwell in the cities Hardishpi and Bit-Kubatti. I placed them under the control of my military officer, the prefect of Arrapha. I had a tablet prepared, and I inscribed upon it my great victory which I had gained over them, and I set it up in the city. I turned about and took the road to the country of Ellipi. Before me Ispabara, their king, abandoned his strong cities, his treasure

houses, and fled to a distant place. I swept over the whole of his broad land like a wind storm. Marubishti and Akkuddu, cities of his royal house, together with thirty-four smaller cities round about them, I besieged, captured, destroyed, devastated, and burned with fire. People, small and great, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle, and sheep, without number, I carried away and I reduced him to nothing and cut down his territory. The cities Çiçirtu and Kummahlum, large cities, together with the smaller cities round about them, the district Bit-Barru, to its whole extent, I cut away from his land and added to the territory of Assyria. I took the city Elenzash for a royal city and fortress for that district, and I changed its former name and called its name Kar-Sennacherib. I settled therein the people of the countries captured by my hands and I placed them under the control of my military officer, the prefect of Harhar, and I enlarged my territory. On my return, I received the heavy tribute of the far-off Medes, the mention of whose country no one among the kings, my fathers, had heard, and I made them submit to the yoke of my lordship.

In my third campaign I marched to the land of the Hittites. Luli (Elulæos), King of Sidon, was overcome by the fear of the splendour of my lordship, and fled far away to the sea, and I subdued his land. Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Sarepta, Mahalliba, Usha, Ekdippa, Akko, his large walled cities, stations for food and water, his garrisons, the might of the weapons of Ashur, my lord, overcame and they submitted to me. Tubalu (Ethobal) I placed over them on the royal throne, and my lordship's tribute and taxes yearly without fail I imposed on him. Menahem of the city of Samsimuruna, Ethobal of Sidon, Abdiliti of Arvad, Urumilki of Byblos, Mitinti of Ashdod, Buduilu of Beth-Ammon, Kammusunadbi of Moab, Malikrammu of Edom, kings of the West Land—all of them—brought rich presents, their heavy gifts, with merchandise, before me and kissed my feet. As for Çidqa, the King of Askelon, who had not submitted to my yoke, I took by

force the gods of his father's house, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brother, the seed of his father's house, and carried them to Assyria. Sharruludari, the son of Rukibti, their former king, I placed over the people of Askelon, and I imposed on him the giving of taxes, a present for my lordship, and he became tributary to me. During the course of my campaign I besieged, captured, and carried away the spoil of Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Beni-barqa, and Azuru, cities belonging to Çidqa, which had not at once submitted to me. The governors, chiefs, and people of Ekron, who had cast Padi, their king, who was under treaty and oath to Assyria, into chains of iron, and had handed him over to Hezekiah of Judah—in a hostile manner he had shut him up in a dungeon—became afraid. They summoned the kings of Egypt, the bowmen, chariots and horses of the King of Meluhha—innumerable forces, and they came to their help. In the vicinity of Eltekeh they arranged (their) battle array against me and forced a battle. Under the protection of Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and accomplished their defeat. The charioteers and the sons of the King of Egypt and the charioteers of the King of Meluhha I captured alive, with my hands, in battle. I besieged, captured, and carried away the spoil of Eltekeh and Timnath. I advanced to Ekron and I killed the governors and chiefs, who had brought about rebellion, and I hung their corpses on poles round about the city. The inhabitants of the city who were in the opposition and riot I reckoned as spoil. The rest of them, who had nothing to do with the rebellion and disgraceful proceedings, who were not guilty, I ordered to be set free. Padi, their king, I brought forth from Jerusalem, and I placed him on the throne of lordship over them. My lordship's tribute I imposed on him. But as for Hezekiah of Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, forty-six of his strong walled cities and the smaller cities round about them, without number, by the battering of rams, and the attack of war-engines (?), by making breaches, by cutting through, and the use of axes, I be-

sieged and captured. Two hundred thousand one hundred and fifty people, small and great, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle, and sheep, without number, I brought forth from their midst and reckoned as spoil. (Hezekiah) himself I shut up like a caged bird in Jerusalem, his royal city. I threw up fortifications against him, and whoever came out of the gates of his city I punished. His cities, which I had plundered, I cut off from his land and gave to Mitinti, King of Ashdod, to Padi, King of Ekron, and to Çil-Bel, King of Gaza, and (thus) made his territory smaller. To the former taxes, paid yearly, tribute, a present for my lordship, I added and imposed on him. Hezekiah himself was overwhelmed by the fear of the brilliancy of my lordship, and the Arabians and faithful soldiers whom he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, his royal city, deserted him. Thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, precious stones, guhli daggassi, large lapis lazuli, couches of ivory, thrones of elephant skin and ivory, ivory, ushu and urkarinu woods, of every kind, a heavy treasure, and his daughters, his palace women, male and female singers, to Nineveh, my lordship's city, I caused to be brought after me, and he sent his ambassador to give tribute and to pay homage.

In my fourth campaign, Ashur, my lord, gave me his support; I mustered my numerous troops and ordered the march to Bit-Yakin. During the course of my campaign, I accomplished the defeat of Shuzub, the Chaldean, who dwelt in the swamps in Bittutu. He was overcome by my fierce battle attack, lost courage, and like a bird (?) he fled alone and no further trace was seen of him. I turned about and took the road to Bit-Yakin. Merodachbaladan, whose defeat I had accomplished in my first campaign, and whose power I had broken, feared the clash of my powerful weapons and my mighty battle attack, and he collected all the gods of his land into their shrines, embarked them on ships, and fled, like a bird, to Nagite-raqqi in the sea. His brothers, the seed of his father's house, whom he had left by the sea, together with the rest of the people of

his land, I brought forth from Bit-Yakin, from the swamps and marshes, and reckoned as spoil. I returned and destroyed and devastated his cities and reduced them to plough-land. Upon his confederate, the King of Elam, I poured out fury. On my return I placed Ashurnadinshum, my first-born son, reared on my knees, on the throne of his lordship, and I made the broad land of Sumer and Akkad subject to him.

In my fifth campaign, the men of Tumurri(?), Sharum, Eçama, Kibshu, Halbuda, Qua, and Qana—whose dwellings, like the nest of the eagle, the king of birds, were located upon the peaks of Mount Nipur, a steep mountain —had not yielded to my power. I pitched my camp at the foot of Mount Nipur, and with my splendid bodyguard and my unrelenting warriors, like a strong wild ox I led the attack. I crossed the clefts, ravines, mountain torrents, difficult high waters, in a chair. Where it was too steep to make use of the chair, I clambered on foot. Like a mountain goat I climbed to the highest peaks. Wherever there was a resting-place for my knees I sat down on a rock. For my thirst, I drank cold water out of skins. Upon the peaks of the mountains I pursued them and I accomplished their overthrow. I captured, spoiled, destroyed, and devastated their cities and burned them with fire. I turned about and took the road against Maniae, king of the city of Ukku in the country of Daie, who was still unconquered. Into the unopened paths and difficult trails before the rough mountains, none of the kings my predecessors had ever marched. I pitched my camp at the foot of the great mountains Anara and Uppa. In my chair with my splendid soldiers, with great trouble, I entered their narrow passes, and with difficulty I climbed the steep mountain peaks. Maniae saw the dust of the feet of my soldiers, abandoned his royal city Ukku, and fled to a distant place. I besieged and captured Ukku. I carried away spoil of every description, his possessions and property. I brought forth the treasure of his palace and reckoned it as spoil. I captured thirty-three cities on the

border of his district, and carried away from them men, asses, cattle, and sheep. I (then) destroyed, devastated, and burned them with fire.

In my sixth campaign—the rest of the people of Bit-Yakin had run away before my powerful weapons, like wild asses, and had collected all the gods of their country into their shrines, and had crossed over the Great Sea of the Rising Sun and had made their homes in the city Nagitu, of the land of Elam—in Hittite boats I crossed the sea. Nagitu, Nagitu-dibina, together with Hilmu, Pillatu, and the land of Hupapanu, districts of Elam, I conquered. The people of Bit-Yakin, together with their gods and the people of the King of Elam, I carried off, and I did not leave a rebel behind. I embarked them on ships, made them cross over to the other side and take the road to Assyria. The cities of those districts I destroyed, devastated, and burned with fire, and I converted them into mounds and plough-land. On my return, in an open battle, I accomplished their defeat and captured with my own hands Shuzub, the Babylonian, who, on account of an uprising in the land, had seized the government of Sumer and Akkad. I threw him into fetters and chains of iron, and brought him to Assyria. The King of Elam, who had supported him and marched to his aid, I defeated. I scattered his forces and broke his power.

In my seventh campaign, Ashur, my lord, gave me his support, and I marched to Elam. During the course of my campaign I captured and despoiled Bit-Hairi and Raça, cities belonging to the territory of Assyria, which the Elamites had taken by force in the reign of my fathers. I placed in them soldiers from my garrisons, brought them within the territory of Assyria, and placed them under the control of the chief of Halçu-dur-shame-irçiti. The cities of Bube, Dunni-Shamash, Bit-risia, Bit-ahlame, Duru, Dantisula, Shiliptu, Bit-açusi, Karmubasha, Bit-giççi, Bit-kappalani, Bit-Imbia, Hamanu, Bit-Arrabi, Burutu, Dintu-sha-Sula, Dintu-sha-Tur(?)-bit-etir, Hur(?)riashlake, Raba, Rasu, Akkabarina, Til-uhuri, Hamranu, Naditu, to-

gether with the cities at the entrance toward Bit-bunaki, Til-Humbi, Dintu-sha-Dumeilu, Bit-Ubia, Baltilishir, Tagablishir, Shanaqidati, Masutu-shaplitu, Sarhuderi, Alum-sha-tarbit, Bit-Ahiddina, Ilteuba, thirty-four large cities and the smaller ones round about them, without number, I besieged, captured, despoiled, destroyed, devastated, and burned with fire. Like a heavy cloud I covered the face of the broad heavens with the smoke of their burning ruins. When Kudur-Nahundu, the Elamite, heard of the capture of his cities, he was overcome with terror, (and) he brought his remaining cities within fortifications. He left Madakte, his royal city, and took the road to Haidala in the far-distant mountains. I ordered the march to Madakte, his royal city. In the month Tebet cold weather set in, the heavens poured down a mass of rain, rain upon rain, and snow. Fearing the mountain streams and torrents, I turned back and took the road to Nineveh. At that time, by the command of Ashur, my lord, Kudur-Nahundu, did not live three months. At an unexpected time and suddenly he died. After him, Ummanmenanu, who was without judgment and reason, his younger brother, took his seat upon the throne.

In my eighth campaign, after Shuzub had been carried off, and the Babylonians, rebellious devils, had bolted their city-gates, the making of a rebellion was planned. Around Shuzub, the Chaldean, the rebellious (?) weakling, who had no courage, who was under the influence (?) of the prefect of Lahiru, a fugitive (?) and deserter, a wicked, bloodthirsty fellow, they gathered and they went into the swamps and made a revolt. I surrounded him with a cordon of soldiers and pressed him hard. On account of terror and distress he fled to Elam. Threatened by conspiracies and crimes, he hastened from Elam and entered Babylon. The Babylonians illegitimately placed him on the throne, and intrusted to him the rule of Sumer and Akkad. They opened the treasure house of Esagila and the gold and silver of Bel (and) Çarpanit, which they had brought forth from the temples of their gods, they gave as a bribe to

Ummanmenanu, the King of Elam, who was without judgment and reason, (saying to him): "Assemble thy army, bring together thy camp, hasten to Babylon, stand by us, our confidence is in thee." That Elamite, whose cities in the course of a former campaign against Elam I had captured and converted into plough-land, took no heed, but accepted their bribe, assembled his soldiers and camp, collected his chariots and freight wagons, and put horses and mules in harness. The lands of Parsuash, Anzan, Pashiru, Ellipi, Yazan, Lagabra, Harzunu, Dummuqu, Sula, Samuna, the son of Merodachbaladan, Bit-Adini, Bit-Amukkani, Bit-Sillana, Bit-Sala-udud-akki, Lahiru, the Puqudu, the Gambulu, the Halatu, the Rua, the Ubulu, the Malahu, the Rapiqu, the Hindaru, the Damunu, a great confederation, he gathered about him. All of them took the road to Akkad and came to Babylon. They joined themselves to Shuzub, and their forces were united. Like the coming of locust swarms in the spring of the year, together they came to do battle against me. The face of the broad heavens was covered with the dust of their feet like a heavy cloud, pregnant with mischief. Before me in the city of Halule, on the bank of the Tigris, the line of battle was formed, they attacked and joined battle. I prayed to Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu, Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the gods in whom I had confidence, that I might conquer the powerful enemy. They gave ear to my prayers at once and came to my help. I was as fierce as a lion, and I put on my cuirass and covered my head with a helmet, the sign of war. In the anger of my heart I drove furiously in my splendid war chariot, which overthrows the enemy. I seized the strong bow which Ashur had intrusted to me, and I grasped the javelin which destroys life. Against all the troops, wicked enemies, in my distress, I raged like a storm, I roared like Ramman. By command of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, on flank and front I attacked the enemy like the coming of a terrible storm. With the weapons of Ashur, my lord, and my mighty battle attack, I destroyed their front and brought

about their retreat. With arrow and lance I cut off the hostile soldiers, and I cut my way * * * through the mass of their corpses. Humbanundasha, the chief of the King of Elam, energetic (and) careful, the leader of his troops, his great support—together with his chief men—whose girdle dagger was inlaid with gold and whose arms were bound with double bracelets of pure gold, like fat steers, hobbled with chains, I cut down quickly as with an axe, and I accomplished their destruction. I cut their necks like wild animals, their precious lives I cut in two like a cord. Like a heavy storm, I scattered their trophies and arms over the broad field. The swift steeds harnessed to my chariot swam in the mass of their blood as in a river. Blood and filth poured down on the wheels of my war chariot, which overthrows the bad and the good. I filled the field with the corpses of their warriors, as with herbs. I cut out their * * * and destroyed their * * * Like the seeds of ripe cucumbers I cut off their hands. The double bracelets of gold and bright silver which were on their arms I took off. With sharp swords I cut off their noses (?). I took away the gold and silver girdle daggers which they carried. The rest of his great men, together with Nabû-shum-ishkun, the son of Merodachbaladan, who feared battle with me, gathered their auxiliaries. In the midst of the battle I seized them alive with my hands. I brought together the chariots with their horses, whose drivers, in the terrible battle attack, had been killed, while they were left careering about by themselves. It continued until the fourth hour of the night. I then put a stop to their slaughter. Like a bull, the fury of my battle overwhelmed Ummanmenanu, King of Elam, together with the King of Babylon, the princes of Chaldea, who had come to his support. They left their tents, and to save their lives they trampled under foot the corpses of their soldiers and fled. Like young captured birds, they lost heart. With their * * * they soiled their chariots and they left their * * * behind them. I ordered my chariot and horses to go in pursuit of them. Their fugitives, who had

fled for their lives, were run through with swords wherever they were captured.

At that time, after I had completed the palace in Nineveh as a dwelling for my royalty, I adorned it with ornaments for the astonished gaze of all people. As for the Side-palace, which the kings, my predecessors, my forefathers, had built for the stowing away of the camp baggage, the stalling of horses, and the storing of all sorts of things, it had no foundation, its room was too small, and its construction was not artistic. In course of time, its platform foundation had become weak, its foundation had collapsed and its superstructure was in ruins. I tore that palace down completely. I took a large piece of ground from the swamp and vicinity of the city, in accordance with the plans of the architect, and added to it. I abandoned the site of the old palace, and on the ground in the swamp which I had reclaimed from the river bed I built up a terrace, and raised the top of it to a height of two hundred tibki. In a favourable month, on an auspicious day, with the co-operation of my clever architects, I built on that terrace, in the wisdom of my heart, a palace of pilu stone and cedar, in the Hittite style, and a splendid palace —as a dwelling for my lordship—in the Assyrian style, which far exceeded the former one in size and artistic effect. Large cedar trunks, such as grow on the snow-capped Mount Amanus, I used for their roofs. I bound the doors of liyari wood with straps of bright copper and hung them in their gateways. With white pilu-stone, such as is found in the Balata, I built splendid lamasse and shede, and stationed them on the right and left. For the rule of the Black-headed People, the storing of horses, mules, calves, asses, chariots, freight wagons (?), quivers, bows, arrows, all kinds of weapons for war, harness for horses and mules, which have great strength when yoked, I greatly enlarged its * * * space. That palace I built from its foundation to its roof and completed it. A tablet, the record of my name, I placed in it. For future days, whoever—among the kings, my sons, whom Ashur and Ishtar shall call to

rule over the land and people—the prince may be when this palace becomes old and ruined, may he repair its damages, may he see the inscription, the record of my name, cleanse it with oil, offer sacrifices, and return it to its place; then Ashur and Ishtar will hear his prayer. Whoever alters my writing and name, may Ashur, the great lord, father of the gods, treat him as an enemy, and take sceptre and throne from him and overthrow his rule!

(Dated) In the month Adar, the eponymy of Bel-imu-rani, prefect of Carchemish.

THE MURDER OF SENNACHERIB
(681 B. C.)

From the Babylonian Chronicle

On the twentieth day of Tebet, Sennacherib, King of Assyria, was killed by his son in a revolt. For twenty-three years Sennacherib had ruled Assyria. From the twentieth day of Tebet to the second day of Adar the revolt in Assyria continued. On the eighteenth day of Sivan, Esarhaddon, his son, took his seat on the throne.

ESARHADDON'S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE, AND THE BATTLE OF HANIGALBAT

I was fierce as a lion, and my heart (liver) was enraged. To exercise the sovereignty of my father's house and to clothe my priestly office, to Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu and Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, I raised my hands and they looked with favour on my petition. In their eternal mercy they sent me an oracle of confidence—viz.: "Go, do not delay; we will march at thy side and will subjugate thy enemies." One day, two

days, I did not wait, the front of my army I did not look upon, the rear I did not see, the appointments for my yoked horses, the weapons for my battle I did not inspect, provisions for my campaign I did not issue. The furious cold of the month Shebat, the fierceness of the cold I did not fear. Like a flying sisinnu bird, for the overthrow of my enemies, I opened out my forces. The road to Nineveh, with difficulty and haste, I travelled. Before me in Hanigalbat, all of their splendid warriors seized the front of my expedition and forced a battle. The fear of the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them. They saw the approach of my mighty battle and they became insane. Ishtar, the mistress of onslaught and battle, the lover of my priestly office, stood at my side and broke their bows. She broke up their compact line of battle, and in their assembly they proclaimed, "This is our king." By her illustrious command, they joined themselves to my side.

CYLINDER A OF THE ESARHADDON INSCRIPTIONS

[ESARHADDON, King of Assyria, King of Sumer] and Akkad, [son of Sennacherib], King of Assyria; [son of Sargon], King of Assyria; who, under the protection of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Nabu, Marduk, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the great gods, his lords, from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun marched without a rival.

The conqueror of Sidon, which lies in the middle of the sea, the overthrower of all its dwellings; its wall and its dwelling (houses) I tore down and threw them into the sea, and I destroyed its site. Abdimilkuti, its king, who had fled before my weapons into the midst of the sea like a fish, from the midst of the sea I drew out and cut off his head. His accumulated property, gold, silver, precious stones, elephant skin, elephant ivory, ushu and urkarinu wood, variegated and linen clothing, of every de-

scription, the treasure of his palace, I carried away in great quantities. His numerous men, who were without number, oxen, sheep, and asses I brought to Assyria. I assembled the kings of Hatti and of the sea-coast—all of them. In another place, I caused the city to be built, and I called its name [Kar-Ashur]ahiddin. The men, the booty of my bow, from the mountains and the Sea of the Rising of the Sun, I caused to dwell there; and I placed my officer over them as governor.

And Sanduarri, king of the cities of Kundi and Sizu, a powerful enemy, who did not respect my lordship, who had forsaken the gods, trusted to the impassable mountains, and Abdimilkuti, King of Sidon, came to his help. By the names of the great gods they swore to each other, and trusted to their own forces. I trusted in Ashur, my lord, and, like a bird, from the midst of the mountains I drew him forth and cut off his head. In order to show the men the power of Ashur, my lord, I hung the heads of Sanduarri and Abdimilkuti upon the necks of their great men. With male singers and music (?) I marched into the streets of Nineveh.

The despoiler of Arzani, which is on the banks of the river of the land of Egypt * * * to Assyria brought. In the vicinity of the eastern gate of Nineveh, with wild beasts, wild boars, and dogs, I caused them to sit in chains.

And Teushpa of Gimir an umman-manda, whose residence was afar off, in the Hubushna territory, together with the whole of his army, I ran through with the sword.

He who trampled upon the necks of the men of Hilakki, Du'ua, the inhabitants of the mountain-ridges, which lie in the vicinity of Tabal; who trusted to their [mighty] mountains, and from days of old had not been subject to any yoke; twenty-one powerful cities, together with the smaller cities of their territory, I besieged, captured, and carried away their spoil, I destroyed, tore down, and burned with fire. Upon the rest, who had not committed sin and crimes, I placed the heavy yoke of my lordship.

He who trod down the land of Barnaki, a powerful enemy, the inhabitants of Tilashuri, whose name in the language of the people they call Mihranu Pitanu.

He who scattered the inhabitants of Minni, the qutu, the unsubmissive; who subdued the armies of Ishpaka of Ashguza—an alliance that did not save him—with (his) sword.

Who drove away Nabu-zer-napishti-lishir, son of Mardukbaliddin, who trusted to Elam, but did not save his life. Naid-Marduk, his brother, in order to subject himself to me, fled from Elam, and came to Nineveh, my lordship's city, and kissed my feet. The sea-land, in its extent, the dominion of his brother, I intrusted to him.

Who tore away Bit-Dakkuri which is in Kaldi, an enemy of Babylon. He who bound Shamash-ibni, its king, who did not fear the renown of the lord of lords, a destructive scoundrel, who had taken away the fields of the Babylonians and Borsippans by force. Because I knew the fear of Bel and Nabu, I returned these fields, and I intrusted them to the Babylonians and Borsippans. I placed Nabu-shallim, son of Balasu, on his throne and he was tribute to me.

Adumu, the powerful city of Aribi [which] Sennacherib, King of Assyria, [the father], my begetter, had captured and * * * his gods had carried away, to Assyria had brought; [Haza']ilu, King of Aribi, with his heavy present, to Nineveh, my lordship's city, came and kissed my feet. He besought me for the return of his gods, and I showed him compassion. I repaired the injuries of these gods, and the power of Ashur, my lord, and the writing of my name I caused to be written upon them, and I gave them back. I appointed Tabua, who was reared in my palace, to sovereignty over them, and with her gods I returned her to her land. I added sixty-five camels, in addition to the former tribute of my fathers and imposed it on him. Afterward, fate carried Haza'ilu away, and I placed Yailu, his son, on his throne. Ten maneh of gold, one thousand brilliant stones, fifty camels, one thousand

gunzi of sweet-smelling herbs, in addition to the tribute of his father, I added and placed on him.

Bazu, a district, whose situation is afar off, a low stretch of land, a desert country, a barren place—one hundred and forty kasbu of swampy land, thorns, and gazelle-mouth stone; twenty kasbu of snakes and scorpions, which, like grasshoppers, filled the country; twenty kasbu of Hazu, a mountain of sag-gil-mud stone, I left behind me and I marched. Where, from days of old, no king before me had gone, by the command of Ashur, my lord, I marched victoriously. I killed eight kings of that district, and I carried away their gods, property, possessions, and men into Assyria. Lale, King of Yadi, [who] had fled before my weapons, heard of the carrying away of his gods, and he came to Nineveh, my lordship's city, into my presence, and kissed my feet. I showed him compassion and spoke to him of peace. Upon his gods, which I had carried away, I wrote the power of Ashur, my lord, and gave them back. I intrusted to him the district of Bazi, and I imposed on him the taxes and tribute of my lordship.

As for Beliqisha, son of Bunani, of Gambul, who, like a fish, had fixed (his) dwelling at the distance of twelve kasbu of land in the water and marshes, by the command of Ashur, my lord, terror struck him. Of his own accord, taxes and tribute, large oxen, completely fattened * * * he brought and kissed my feet. I showed him compassion, and I made his heart confident. I strengthened Shapi-Bel, his stronghold, and himself, together with his bow-men, I caused to go up into it, and like a door of Elam, I shut it up.

As for Patusharra, a district on the borders of the house of the desert, which is in the midst of the far-off Medes, on the borders of Bikni, a mountain of alabaster stone, the territory of whose land no one among the kings, my fathers, had trodden, Shidirparna, Eparna, its powerful city officers, who were not under subjection to any yoke, themselves with their men, horses, chariots, oxen, sheep, asses, dromedaries, their heavy spoil, I carried away to Assyria.

Uppiz, city-officer of Partakka, Zanasana, city-officer of Partukka, Ramatea, city-officer of Urakazabarna, Medes, whose situation is afar off, who, under the reign of the kings, my fathers, had not crossed over the territory of Assyria and had not trodden its ground, the fear of the might of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them. Large horses, alabaster-stone, the choice of his land, to Nineveh, my lordship's city, they brought and kissed my feet. As for the city-officers, faint-heartedness (?) struck them; they besought my lordship, and they asked of me a treaty. I sent with them my military officers, the prefects of the border of their land. They trampled upon and subdued the men, the inhabitants of these cities. The tribute and taxes of my lordship I imposed upon them regularly.

From the time that Ashur, Shamash, Bel, and Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, had set me in power over my enemies, and I had found the fulness of my heart, with the booty of my numerous enemies, which, under the protection of the great gods, my lords, my hands had captured, the temples of the cities of Assyria and Akkad I caused to be built, and with silver and gold I adorned them, and I made them as bright as the day.

In those days, the former (?) palace, which is in Nineveh, which the kings, my forefathers, had caused to be built —for the stowing away of the camp, for the sheltering of the horses and bulls, chariots, weapons, utensils of war, and the spoil of the enemies, everything of every description, which Ashur, the king of the gods, had presented, as a royal possession, for the stalling of the horses, and the harnessing of the chariots, [that place had become too small for me, and] I caused the men of the countries, the booty of my bow, to carry baskets (?) and work-caps (?) and they made bricks. That small palace I tore down entirely. A large piece of ground, in accordance with my plan, I cut off from the midst of the fields, and added to it. I filled out its terrace with freestone, a stone of the mighty mountains.

I assembled twenty-two kings of the land of Hatti, of

the sea-coast and the middle of the sea. [Cylinder B gives the names of the kings and countries. And beyond the sea. Ba'al of Tyre, Manasseh of Judah, Qaushgabri of Edom, Muçuri of Moab, Çil-Bel of Gaza, Metinti of Askelon, Ikausu of Ekron, Milkiashapa of Byblos, Matanbaal of Arvad, Abibaal of Samsimuruma, Buduil of Ammon, Ahimilki of Ashdod, twelve kings of the sea-coast; Ekishtura of Edial, Pilagura of Kitrusi, Kisu of Silua, Ituandar of Paphos, Eresu of Sillu, Damasu of Kuri, Atmesu of Tamesu, Damusi of Qartihadashti, Unasagusu of Sidir, Bu-çu-su of Nure, ten kings of Cyprus in the midst of the sea, in all twenty-two kings of Hatti (the Hittites), etc.] To all of these I gave my commands, and large beams, mighty posts, boards of cedar and cypress from the midst of Sirara and Labnana, brilliant colossi and bull-colossi (?), thresholds of burned brick, of gis-sir-gal and ashnan stone, of turmina turmina-turdu en-gi-damku alaldu gi-na hi-li-ba, from the mountain-ridges, the place of their production, for the requirements of my palace, with labour and with difficulty they caused to be drawn to Nineveh.

In a fortunate month, on a favourable day, upon that terrace, I built great palaces for the dwelling of my lordship. I caused them to perform state (compulsory) labour. A palace, whose length was ninety-five great cubits, whose breadth was thirty-one great cubits, which, among the kings who went before me, my fathers, no one had built, I built. I laid in rows upon it mighty beams of cedar. Doors of cypress-wood, whose odor was good, I bound with a covering of silver and copper, and I hung in its gates. Bull-divinities and colossi of stone which, according to their position, turn the breast of the enemy, which protect the path, render inviolable the way of the king, their builder, to the right and left I caused to take their positions. A palace of freestone and cedar, shu-temu-du-ti (?) for the renown of my lordship, artistically I caused to be built. Glittering female colossi of bronze which looked sideward, forward, and backward, I placed in

it on both sides. Mighty beams of cedar, and boards I placed as the fastening of their gates. For the surrounding wall of that palace, a strong protection of pi-stone and alabaster I caused to be made and to surround it like a wreath * * * like * * * I caused to surround the whole of the gates. I hung doors of pure silver and shining copper in their midst. The power of Ashur, my lord, which I had exhibited in hostile countries, by the work of the engravers, I carved in it. A large park like those of Haman, in which every sort of spices and trees was planted, I placed on its sides. Its ground-floor I greatly enlarged, and its path I made much wider. For a drinking-place for the horses, within it I had a watering-trough constructed and arranged after the manner of a canal. This palace, from its foundation to its roof, I erected, caused to be completed and fitted out with fulness. Ekallu paqidat kalama—i. e., the palace guarding everything, I called its name. Ashur, Ishtar of Nineveh, the gods of Assyria, all of them, I invited into it. Large and clean sacrifices I sacrificed before them, and I presented my presents. These gods, in the steadfastness of their hearts, looked with favour on my kingdom. The great men and inhabitants of my country—all of them—with eating and feasting, I made to sit at the dedicatory table in its midst, and I caused their hearts (spirits) to rejoice. With wines and cider I bribed their hearts, and I poured over them the best oil. By the command of Ashur, king of the gods, and the gods of Assyria, all of them, in health of body, joy of heart, cheerfulness of spirit, abundance of offspring, within it, may I continually dwell, and may its completeness (splendour) be sufficient! On the beginning of the year, in the first month, all of the horses, bulls, asses, camels, weapons, utensils of war, all the soldiers, the spoil of my enemies, yearly, without fail, within it may I store away! Within this palace may the gracious bull-divinities and gracious colossi, protecting the footsteps of my majesty, causing my spirit to rejoice, forever show their power, may they not separate themselves from its side!

For the future, among the kings, my sons, whomsoever Ashur and Ishtar call to be ruler of land and people, at the time when this palace becomes old and weak, may he repair its damage! According as I placed the inscription of the king, my begetter, with the inscriptions of my name, so do thou as I did, and look after my inscription, and cleanse it with oil, offer sacrifices, with thy own inscriptions place it! Ashur and Ishtar will hear thy prayers.

INSCRIPTION OF ESARHADDON FROM THE BLACK STONE (ABERDEEN)

ESARHADDON, king of the world, King of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, the lofty prince, who fears Nabu and Marduk.

From the time that, under the reign of a former king, in Sumer and Akkad, hostile forces came to the front, the people who dwelt in Babylon sent an ultimatum and planned insurrection; they laid their hands on Esagila, the temple of the gods; gold and precious stones they passed through as purchase-money to Elam—(from this time) the lord of the gods, Marduk, was enraged. To overthrow the country and to destroy the people he formed hostile plans. The river (canal) Arahtu, a river of plenty, a mighty flood, like a storm-flood was brought, and he caused it to come against the city, its habitations, and its temples, and he made it (the city) resemble a ruin. The gods and the goddesses residing therein ascended to heaven; the people dwelling therein were apportioned to bonds and bands, and they entered into a state of slavery. He had decreed ten years as the length of its state of ruin, and the merciful Marduk was speedily appeased, and he drew to his side all Babylonia (literally above and below). In the eleventh year I gave orders to reinhabit it.

I, Esarhaddon, whom thou hast chosen from the number of my older brothers to restore these works, and over

whom thou hast established thy good protection, all of whose enemies like a cyclone thou hast overwhelmed, and all of whose foes thou hast destroyed, and the desire of whose heart thou hast caused him to attain, and to whom thou, in order to appease the heart of thy great divinity, to soften thy spirits, hast handed over the rule of Assyria.

At the beginning of my dominion, in the first year of my reign, when I had taken my seat with pomp upon the royal throne, favourable signs appeared in the heavens and on earth * * * About the doing of this work, to the judgment of Shamash, Ramman, Marduk, chief-justice of the gods, my lords, I bowed; I consulted them. Through the mediation of a seer, oracles inspiring trust were brought; to rebuild Babylon, to renew Esagila they wrote thereon. In their true protection I placed trust, and I summoned all my workmen and the men of Kar-Duniash to its whole extent; I caused them to carry baskets (?),[1] and I placed (upon them) work-caps (?). I sprinkled its foundation wall (?) with fine oil, honey, cream, wine, wine of the snow-covered mountains. I placed on my own head a work-cap (?), and I caused myself to carry it (i. e., to perform state work). With shiluru, ivory, Terebinths, Oaks, Palms, * * * as many as to its yoke, I caused bricks to be made. Esagila, the temple of the gods, and its shrines; Babylon, the city of protection; Imgur-Bel, its inner wall; Nimit-Bel, its outer wall, from their foundations to their battlements, I built anew, I enlarged them, raised them higher and strengthened them. I repaired the image of the great gods and caused it to take its place in their rooms forever. I re-established their regular offerings, which had fallen into disuse. The Babylonians, who had gone into slavery and who had been apportioned to bonds and bands, as Babylonians I reckoned again. I placed them anew under protection.

[1] I caused them to perform state (compulsory) labour.

INSCRIPTION OF ESARHADDON ON THE MONOLITH IN BERLIN

ASHUR, the father of the gods, who loves my priestly office; Anu, the strong, the first in rank, who proclaimed my name; Bel, the high lord, who established my reign; Ea, the wise, the knowing, who decides my fates; Sin-Nannar, the brilliant, who grants me favourable signs; Shamash, judge of heaven and earth, who defines my career; Ramman, the mighty, who makes abundant provision for my army; Marduk, the lord of the Igigi and Anunnaki, who enlarges my dominion; Ishtar, the mistress of contest and battle, who marches at my side; the Seven-hero-gods, who overwhelm my enemies; the great gods, all of them, who decide fates, who give power and strength to the king, their favourite, Esarhaddon, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of Karduniash—all of them—king of the kings of Egypt, Pathros, and Cush, who reverences their great divinity, the exalted autocrat of Ashur, [Shamash,] Nabu [and Marduk]; king of kings, the unsparing, who burns the stubborn, who is clothed with brilliancy, who does not fear battle; the splendid warrior, who is unsparing in contest; the prince, the all-powerful, who controls the sceptre of kings; the mad dog who avenges his father, his begetter; the king who, under the protection of Ashur, Shamash, Nabu, and Marduk, his supporters, marched here and there with justice, and accomplished his desires; who broke down all those who did not favour him, princes who were unsubmissive, like the cane of the swamp, and caused them to be trodden under his feet, who arranged (restored) the free-will offerings to the great gods who [encouraged] the fear of gods and goddesses. * * *

[The text of lines 1–9 of the reverse is too badly mutilated for translation.]

* * * The kings of the four quarters of the world I trod under foot, * * * the countries, all of them, I brought under my yoke. * * * I imposed on them tribute and taxes; who conquered his enemies, who destroyed his foes; the king, whose path was a cyclone; because of his deeds, the maddened wolf entered his presence (?), and after him * * * whose strong battle was a flaming sea of fire * * * the son of Sennacherib, king of the world, King of Assyria, son of Sargon, king of the world, King of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, of the ancient royal seed of Bel-ibni, son of Adasi, who established the kingdom of Assyria * * * of the city Ashur * * * [who before] Ashur, Shamash, Nabu, and Marduk, his lords, prostrated himself. I am powerful, all-powerful, exalted, all-mighty, strong, important, majestic in power; among all kings I do not know a rival; the darling of Ashur, Nabu, and Marduk, proclaimed of Sin, favourite of Anu, beloved of Queen Ishtar, the goddess of everything, the unsparing weapon, who brings to destruction the land of the enemy, am I; the king, powerful in contest and battle, who destroys the habitations of those who are hostile to him; who annihilates his enemies, overwhelms his foes, brings under subjection those who are unsubmissive to him; who holds dominion over all people, as whose fate Ashur, Shamash, Nabu, and Marduk, my exalted lords, whose command can not be changed, a kingdom without a rival, decreed; into whose hands Ishtar, the mistress, who loves my priestly office, a strong bow, a mighty spear bringing destruction to the hostile, intrusted; the desire of my heart she caused me to attain, and all princes who were unsubmissive she brought to submission under my feet.

At the time that Ashur, the great lord—in order to show the people the mightiness and greatness of my deeds—over the kings of the four quarters of the world strengthened my royal rule, and spread abroad the fame of my name, and placed in my hand a mighty sceptre with which to overcome my enemies, (then) the country rebelled

against Assyria; they acted disgracefully, they revolted. To destroy and to despoil the territory of Assyria * * * my people. After Ashur and the great gods, my lords, had given me marching orders, distant roads, impassable mountains, large swamps, desert places, in the obedience of my heart, I traversed successfully. As for Tarqû, King of Egypt and Cush, who was under the curse of their great divinity, from Ishupri as far as Memphis, his royal city—a march of fifteen days—every day without exception I killed his warriors in great number, and as for him, five times with the point of the spear I struck him with a deadly stroke. Memphis, his royal city, in half a day, by cutting through, cutting into and scaling (?) I besieged, I conquered, I tore down, I destroyed, I burned with fire, and the wife of his palace, his palace women, Ushanahuru, his own son, and the rest of his sons, his daughters, his property and possessions, his horses, his oxen, his sheep without number, I carried away as spoil to Assyria. I tore up the root of Cush from Egypt,[1] a single one—even to the suppliant—I did not leave behind.

Over all Egypt I appointed kings, prefects, governors, grain-inspectors, mayors, and secretaries. I instituted regular offerings to Ashur and the great gods, my lords, for all time. I placed on them the tribute and taxes of my lordship, regularly and without fail. A tablet, written in my name, I caused to be made, and the glory of the bravery of Ashur, my lord, the mighty deeds which I had accomplished, under the protection of Ashur, in my marches, and the victories, the booty of my hands, thereon I caused to be written, and for the (astonished) gaze of all my enemies I set up for future days.

Whoever removes this tablet from its place, or erases my name as written, or writes his name or covers it with dust, or throws it into the water, or burns it with fire, or places it where it can not be seen, may Ishtar, the mistress of contest and battle, destroy his manhood or woman-

[1] That is, everything pertaining to Cush I forcibly removed from Egypt.

hood! May she cause him to dwell as a captive among his enemies!

May the future prince see the tablet, written in my name! may he read it aloud! may he cleanse it with oil! may he offer a sacrifice! may he exalt the name (fame) of Ashur, my lord!

SHORT INSCRIPTIONS OF ESARHADDON

I. ON A BRONZE LION IN THE MUSEUM AT CONSTANTINOPLE

PALACE of Esarhaddon, king of the world, King of Assyria, the conqueror of Egypt and Cush.

II. ON A BRICK FROM NEBBI YUNUS

Palace of Esarhaddon, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, son of Sargon, King of Assyria.

III. ON A BRICK FROM NEBBI YUNUS

Palace of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, son of Sargon, King of Assyria.

IV. ON AN ALABASTER VASE FROM KOUYUNJIK

Palace of Esarhaddon, king of the world, King of Assyria, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of Kar-Duniash.

V. Esarhaddon, king of the world, King of Assyria, the palace which is in the city Tarbiçu from its foundation to its roof has caused to be built anew.

VI. I, Esarhaddon, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, the palace, which is in the city

Tarbiçu, for a dwelling-place for Ashurbanipal constructed, I brought to a state of completion.

VII. I, Esarhaddon, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, king of the kings of Egypt, of Pathros, and Cush, the palace, which is in the city Tarbiçu, for a dwelling-place for Ashurbanipal, the prince of the harem, the son of my heart, constructed, I brought to a state of completion.

VIII. For Marduk, his lord Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, King of Babylon, caused the burned brick of Esagila and Etemenanki to be made anew.

IX. Palace of Esarhaddon, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, who built the Temple of Ashur, rebuilt Esagila and Babylon, repaired the image of the great gods, King of Egypt, who bound (as a captive) the King of Meluhha, king of the four quarters of the world, son of Sennacherib, king of the world, King of Assyria, son of Sargon, king of the world, King of Assyria.

ANNALS OF ASHURBANIPAL
(668–626 B. C.)

From the Rassam Cylinder

I AM Ashurbanipal, the offspring of Ashur and Beltis, the great crown-prince of the harem, whom Ashur and Sin, lord of the moon's disk, named for kingship in the distant past, and whom they formed in his mother's womb for lordship over Assyria, and whom Shamash, Ramman, and Ishtar, in accordance with their unchanging decisions have commanded to exercise sovereignty. Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, the father who begat me, honoured the

command of Ashur and Beltis, the gods who supported him, who commanded him that I should exercise sovereignty. In the month of Iyyar, the month of Ea, lord of mankind, on the twelfth day, an auspicious day, at the feast of Gula, in order to carry out the exalted command which Ashur, Beltis, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuru, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku had issued, he (i. e., Esarhaddon) assembled the people of Assyria, both great and small, from the Upper Sea even to the Lower Sea. In order to confirm me in my position as crown-prince and in the exercise of the sovereignty of Assyria later on, he made them swear allegiance by the gods and made the league firm.

I entered with joy and rejoicing into the harem, the artistic place, the headquarters of royalty, wherein Sennacherib, my grandfather, had exercised authority as crown-prince and as king; wherein Esarhaddon, my father, was born, and grew up, and exercised lordship over Assyria, and ruled over all princes, and increased the family, and gathered together kinsmen and relatives; and I, Ashurbanipal, therein acquired the wisdom of Nabu, learned all the knowledge of writing of all the scribes, as many as there were, and learned how to shoot with the bow, to ride on horses and in chariots and to hold the reins. By the command of the great gods, whose names I called upon, whose glory I proclaimed, and who commanded that I should exercise sovereignty, and intrusted to me the restoration of their shrines, while in my stead they met my enemies, and overthrew my adversaries, I am a warlike man, the favourite of Ashur and Ishtar, a man of royal descent.

From the time that Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku graciously established me upon the throne of my father, Ramman has let loose his showers, and Ea has opened up his springs; the grain has grown to a height of five yards, the ears have been five sixths of a yard long, the produce of the land—the

increase of Nisaba—has been abundant, the land has constantly yielded heavily, the fruit trees have borne fruit richly, and the cattle have done well in bearing. During my reign plenty abounded; during my years abundance prevailed.

In my first campaign[1] I marched to Makan and Meluhha. Tirhaka, King of Egypt and Ethiopia, whose defeat Esarhaddon, my father, had brought about, and whose land he had taken possession of—he, Tirhaka, forgot the power of Ashur, Ishtar, and the great gods, my lords, and trusted in his own forces. He marched against the kings, the prefects, whom my father had appointed in Egypt, in order to slay and plunder and to take Egypt; against them he went in and settled in Memphis, a city which my father had conquered and added to the territory of Assyria. A swift messenger came to Nineveh and brought me the tidings. My heart raged at these deeds, and my feelings were wrought up. I lifted my hands and prayed to Ashur and Ishtar, of Assyria. I mustered my splendid troops which Ashur and Ishtar had intrusted to me, and I ordered the march to Egypt and Ethiopia.

In the course of my campaign[2] twenty-two kings from the sea-coast, the islands and the inland, who were sub-

[1] For the date of the Egyptian campaigns, compare the following letter:

To the king of the countries, my lord, (from) thy servant Kudurru. May Ashur, Shamash, and Marduk, bless the king, my lord! After the king, my lord, went to Egypt, in the month Tammuz an eclipse occurred.

A variant gives a more detailed account of Esarhaddon's conquest of Egypt:

Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, my father, had marched and entered therein. He brought about the defeat of Tirhaka, King of Ethiopia, and shattered his might. He conquered Egypt and Ethiopia and carried away thence incalculable booty. He took possession of that land throughout its extent and added it to the territory of Assyria. He changed the former names of its cities and named them afresh. He appointed his servants therein as kings and prefects, and he established the annual tribute and taxes of his lordship upon them.

[2] A parallel passage gives the names of the twenty-two kings spoken of above:

Ba'al, King of Tyre; Manasseh, King of Judah; Qaüshgabri, King of Edom; Muçuri, King of Moab; Çil-Ba'al, King of Gaza; Mitinti, King

ordinate to me, brought their heavy tribute into my presence and kissed my feet. Those kings, together with their troops and their ships, I put in motion by land and water along with my troops. I marched in haste to the help and support of the kings and prefects who were in Egypt, and were subject to me, and I arrived at Karbaniti.

Tirhaka, King of Egypt and Ethiopia, heard in Memphis of the progress of my campaign, and summoned his warriors to prepare battle, weapons, and war in my front. Under the protection of Ashur, Bel, and Nabu, the great gods, my lords, who walked at my side, in battle upon the wide field I inflicted defeat upon his forces. Tirhaka heard in Memphis of the overthrow of his forces. The brilliancy of Ashur and Ishtar overwhelmed him, and he lost control of himself. The splendour of my kingship, wherewith the gods of heaven and earth have adorned me, fell upon him, and he abandoned Memphis and fled into Thebes in order to save his life. I captured that city, brought my forces into it, and settled them therein. Necho, King of Memphis and Saïs; Sharruludari, King of Çinu; Pishanhuru, King of Nathu; Pakruru, King of Pishaptu; Bukkunannipi, King of Athribis; Nahke, King of Hininshi; Putubishti, King of Tanis; Unamunu, King of Nathu; Harsiaeshu, King of Zabnuti; Buaima, King of Bindidi; Susinqu, King of Bushiru; Tabnahti, King of Bunubu; Bukkunannipi, King of Ahni; Iptihardishu, King of Pihattihurunpiki; Nahtihuruansini, King of Pishabdia; Bukurninip, King of Pahnuti; Çiha, King of Shiautu; Lamentu, King of Himuni; Ishpimatu, King of Taini; and Mantimeanhi, King of Thebes—these kings, governors, and prefects, whom my father had appointed in Egypt, and who had fled from their posts before the ad-

of Askelon; Ikaüshu, King of Ekron; Melkiashapa, King of Gublu; Yakinlu, King of Arwada; Abiba'al, King of Samsimuruna; Amminadbi, King of Beth-Ammon; Ahimilki, King of Ashdod; Ekishtura, King of Edial; Pilagura, King of Kitrusu; Kisu, King of Silua; Ituandar, King of Pappa; Eresu, King of Sillu; Damasu, King of Kuri; Admesu, King of Tamesu; Damusu, King of Qartihadastu; Unasagusu, King of Sidir; Buçusu, King of Nuri—in all, twenty-two kings of the sea-coast.

vance of Tirhaka and filled the open field, I led back and I restored them to their appointments in their stations. I again took possession of Egypt and Ethiopia, which my father had conquered. I made the garrisons stronger than before, and made the bonds firm. I returned safely to Nineveh with much plunder and heavy spoils.

Afterward those kings, as many as I had appointed, violated their covenants with me, disregarded the oath sworn by the great gods, forgot the favour which I had shown to them, and their hearts devised evil and they gave vent to rebellious utterances and formed treacherous (?) plans among themselves, saying, "If they drive Tirhaka out of Egypt, how then can we remain?" They sent their messengers to Tirhaka, King of Ethiopia, to make a compact and a league, saying: "Let a league be established between us and let us be a help to each other. If we divide the country among ourselves, then there shall not be another lord between us." They devised an evil plot against the troops of Assyria, the power of my lordship, which I had stationed there in accordance with their league.

My military governors heard of these things. They intercepted their messengers together with their despatches, and learned their rebellious deeds. They seized these kings and bound them hand and foot in bonds of iron and fetters of iron. The oath by Ashur, king of the gods, conquered them and I avenged myself upon those who had violated the covenant sworn to by the great gods, for the kindness and the favour which I had shown them.

The inhabitants of Saïs also, and Mendes, and Tanis, and the rest of the cities, as many as had sided with them and plotted evil, they (i. e., the generals) destroyed with weapons, both small and great, and left not a man in them. They hung their corpses on gibbets, stripped off their skins, and therewith covered the wall of the city. Those kings who had plotted evil against the forces of Assyria they brought alive to Nineveh into my presence. I showed mercy to Necho alone from among them, and I let him live. I made the covenant stricter than before, and rati-

fied it with him. I clothed him with party-coloured raiment; I put a chain of gold upon him as the insignia of his sovereignty; I encircled his fingers with rings of gold; I gave him for his girdle an iron dagger overlaid with gold, on which I had written my name; and I presented him with chariots and with horses and mules for the conveyance of his lordship. I sent my military officer and prefects with him according to his agreement. I returned him to his post in Saïs, where my father had appointed him to sovereignty, and I appointed Nabushezibanni, his son, over the city Athribis. I showed him more kindness and favour than my father had shown him.

The terrible might of the weapons of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed Tirhaka where he had fled, and he went to his black fate (i. e., to death). Afterward Urdamani, son of Shabako, took his seat upon his royal throne, made Thebes and On his strongholds, and collected his forces. He set his battle in motion to fight with my troops, men of Assyria, which were in Memphis. He shut those men in and cut off their escape. A swift messenger came to Nineveh and informed me.

In my second campaign I directed the march to Egypt and Ethiopia. Urdamani heard of the approach of my campaign and when I trod upon the border of Egypt he abandoned Memphis and fled into Thebes in order to save his life. The kings, governors, and prefects whom I had established in Egypt came into my presence and kissed my feet. I took up the march after Urdamani [1] and came to Thebes, his fortress. He saw the advance of my mighty battle-array, abandoned Thebes, and fled to Kipkip. That entire city, under the protection of Ashur and Ishtar, my hands captured.

(I seized) silver, gold, precious stones, the contents of his palace—all that there was: party-coloured raiment,

[1] A parallel account of the flight and pursuit of Urdamani reads:

Urdamani fled alone and entered into Thebes, his royal city. For a journey of one month and ten days they marched after him by difficult roads as far as Thebes. They conquered that city throughout its extent and overthrew it like a whirlwind.

cloth, great horses, and people, male and female. Two tall obelisks made of bright zahalu, whose weight was twenty-five hundred talents, which stood before the gate of the temple, I removed from their place, and took to Assyria. Heavy spoils without number I carried off from Thebes. Over Egypt and Ethiopia I made my weapons rage, and established my might. With full hands I returned in safety to Nineveh, my capital.

In my third campaign I marched against Ba'al, King of Tyre, who dwelt in the midst of the sea; who had disregarded my royal command and had not listened to the words of my lips. I constructed bulwarks against him, and I seized his approaches on sea and land.[1] I beset their lives, brought them into dire straits, and made them submit to my yoke. A daughter, sprung from his own body, and his brother's daughters he brought to me to serve as concubines. At the same time he caused Yahimilki, his son, who had never before crossed the sea, to be brought to me to be my servant. I received his daughter and his brother's daughters from him with rich dowry; but I showed him mercy and gave back to him the son sprung from his own body.[2]

Yakinlu, King of Arwad, who dwelt in the midst of the sea, who had not been subject to the kings, my fathers, submitted himself to my yoke, brought his daughter with a large dowry to Nineveh to be my concubine, and kissed my feet.

[1] A parallel passage inserts here:

I hemmed in his way; food and drink for the support of their lives I made scarce in their mouths; and I surrounded them with a strong investment from which there was no escape.

[2] A parallel passage reads:

I gave back and showed him mercy. I broke through the siege-walls which I had constructed against Ba'al, King of Tyre, and I opened up his approaches on sea and land, all that I had seized. I received heavy tribute from him and I returned in safety to Nineveh, the city of my lordship. The princes (dwelling) in the midst of the sea and the king's dwelling on the lofty mountains saw the might of these deeds of mine, and they feared my lordship. Yakinlu, King of Arwad, and Mukallu, King of Tabal, who had not submitted to the kings, my fathers, submitted to my yoke.

Mukallu, King of Tabal,[1] who had devised hostility against the kings, my fathers, brought a daughter, sprung from his own body, with a rich portion to Nineveh to be my concubine, and kissed my feet. Upon Mukallu I laid annual tribute of large horses.

Sandasarme, the Cilician, who had not been subject to the kings, my fathers, and had not borne their yoke, brought a daughter, sprung from his own body, with a large dowry to Nineveh to be my concubine, and kissed my feet.

After I had overthrown the land of Yakinlu, King of Arwad, Aziba'al, Abiba'al, Aduniba'al, Sapadiba'al, Budiba'al, Ba'aljashubu, Ba'alhanunu, Ba'almaluku, Abimilki, and Ahimilki, the sons of Yakinlu, who dwelt in the midst of the sea, rose up from the midst of the sea, and came with their heavy presents, and kissed my feet. I looked with pleasure upon Aziba'al, and established him as king over Arwad. Abiba'al, Aduniba'al, Sapadiba'al, Budiba'al, Ba'aljashubu, Ba'alhanunu, Ba'almaluku, Abimilki, and Ahimilki I clothed in party-coloured raiment, and encircled their fingers with gold rings, and made them stand before me.

Ashur, the god, my creator, revealed my name in a dream to Gyges,[2] King of Lydia, a region which is across

[1] A parallel passage reads:

As for Mukallu, King of [ ], who dwelt in the mountains and impassable hills, who had sent weapons against the kings, my fathers, and had planned hostility—in his own land terror overcame him and the fear of my sovereignty overwhelmed him, and, without making an attack with weapons and war, he sent to Nineveh and besought my lordship. Large horses I required of him as tribute—the gift of his country. Ikkilu, King of Arwad, who dwelt in the wide sea, who had fixed his dwelling like a fish in immeasurable waters, * * * mighty floods, who had presumptuously trusted to the raging sea, and had not submitted to my yoke, accepted my lordship, and bowed himself to become my servant and drew my yoke. I laid upon him yearly tribute of gold, violet-purple wool, red-purple wool, fish, and birds.

[2] A parallel passage reads:

He came (?) to the border of my land, to the people of my land. They said, "Who art thou, O stranger, into whose land no rider has ever made his way?" They brought him to Nineveh, the city of my lordship, * * * into my presence. Of the languages of the east and of the west, which Ashur had committed to my hands, there was none that was master of his language, and no one had heard his language. * * * From the border of the land * * * with him he brought * * *.

the sea, a far-off place, of whose name the kings, my fathers, had heard no mention, saying, "Lay hold of the feet of Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria, and through the influence of his name conquer thy enemies." On the very day on which he saw this vision he sent his messenger to ask after my welfare. This vision which he had seen he sent by his messenger and repeated to me.[1] From the very day on which he laid hold of my royal feet he conquered the Cimmerians, who had been oppressing the people of his land, and had not feared the kings, my fathers, nor even laid hold of my royal feet. Under the protection of Ashur and Ishtar, the gods, my lords, from among the governors of the Cimmerians whom he had conquered, two he bound in bonds, with chains and fetters of iron, and had them brought into my presence together with a heavy gift from himself. (However) he discontinued his messenger whom he had continually sent to ask after my welfare. Because he did not keep the command of Ashur, my creator, he trusted in his own strength, while his heart became scornful, and he sent his forces to an alliance with Psammetichus, King of Egypt, who had thrown off the yoke of my lordship. I heard of it and prayed to Ashur and Ishtar, as follows: "May his corpse be cast before his enemies, and may they carry away his bones!" Just as I had prayed to Ashur it was fulfilled; before his enemies his corpse was cast, and they carried off his bones. The Cimmerians, whom through my name he had trodden under foot, advanced and raided his whole land. After him his son took his seat upon his throne. Through his messenger he sent me tidings of the disas-

[1] A parallel account adds at this point:

The people who dwelt in Kirbit, which is situated in Halehasta, trusted to their inaccessible mountains, and did not fear the lordship of Assyria. Tandai, their governor, who had not submitted to the yoke of the kings, my fathers, constantly plundered the land of Yamutbala and laid it in ruins. On account of these deeds, the people of Dur-ilu sent to me and besought my lordship. I sent my military governors and my prefects against them; they conquered Kirbit and carried away its people as spoil. I uprooted the people of those towns which my hands had conquered and I made them dwell in Egypt.

trous calamity which, in answer to my prayer, the gods—my supporters—had brought upon his father, who begat him, and he laid hold of my royal feet, saying: "A king upon whom the god looks with favour art thou; my father thou didst curse and calamity befell him. But as for me—a slave who fears thee—bless me and I will be tributary to thee."

In my fourth campaign I mustered my troops and directed the march against Ahsheri, King of Mannai. By the command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku, I entered the land of Mannai and marched through it victoriously. Its cities, great and small, which were without number, as far as Izirtu, I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. I brought forth people, horses, asses, cattle, and sheep from within those cities, and counted them as spoil.[1] Ahsheri heard of the progress of my campaign and abandoned Izirtu, his royal city. He

[1] A parallel passage reads as follows:

Ahsheri heard of the progress of my campaign and despatched his troops. In the course of the night they advanced in a cunning manner in order to offer battle and fight against my troops. My warriors fought with them and inflicted defeat upon them. For a distance of three double leagues of ground they filled the broad plain with their bodies. By the command of Ashur, Sin, and Shamash, the great gods, my lords, who supported me, I entered into Mannai and marched through it victoriously. In the course of my campaign I conquered Aiuslash, a fortress, Pashatçu (?), Pusutu, Ashdiash, Urkiamun, Uppish, Sihua, Naziniri—eight strong cities and also little ones without number as far as Izirtu; I destroyed, devastated, and burned them with fire. I brought forth men, horses, asses, cattle, and sheep from within those cities and counted them as spoil.

Ahsheri heard of the progress of my campaign and abandoned Izirtu, his royal city, and fled to Atrana, his fortress, and took refuge. I surrounded Izirtu, Urmeate, and Uzbia, his strongholds. I shut in the inhabitants of those cities, straitened their existence, and brought them into distress. That district I conquered, I destroyed, I devastated, and burned with fire. I laid it waste for a distance of fifteen days' march and poured out disaster upon it. In the course of my campaign I conquered the cities in the vicinity of Padiri, which the Mannai had taken away during the reign of the kings, my fathers, and had joined to themselves; and I burned them with fire and carried away their spoil. I added those cities to the territory of Assyria. I swept over the district of Arsianish, which is between Aiqanani, which is in Harsishadi, which is at the top of Kumurdai, which is in Mannai, and I burned it with fire. I killed Raidi-

fled to Ishtatti, a city in which he trusted, and took refuge there. I conquered that region, laid it waste for a distance of fifteen days' march, and poured disaster upon it. As for Ahsheri, who did not fear my lordship—in accordance with the word of Ishtar who dwells in Arbela, who had said from the beginning, "I will bring about the death of Ahsheri, King of Mannai, according as I have said," she delivered him into the hands of his servants, and the people of his land made a revolt against him. On the street of his city they cast his corpse and left his body lie. With my weapons I struck down his brother, his family, and the members of his father's house. Afterward I placed Ualli, his son, upon his throne. He saw the might of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku, the great gods, my lords, and he submitted to my yoke. In order to retain his life he confessed his sin and besought my lordship. He sent Irisinni, a son whom he had begotten, to Nineveh, and kissed my feet. I showed him mercy and sent my messenger with greetings of peace to him. He sent a daughter, sprung from his own body, to Nineveh to be my concubine. They brought to me his former tribute, which he had stopped during the reigns of the kings, my fathers. I added thirty horses to his former tribute, and laid it upon him.[1]

shadi, the commander of their fortresses, and I carried off his spoil. I conquered the district of Erishteana, swept over its cities, burned it with fire, and carried off its spoil. In the onset of my battle I laid waste his district and diminished his whole country. With much plunder and a heavy present I returned in safety and trod the border of Assyria. * * * -rua, Sharruiqbi, Gusune, and * * * -rute—towns adjacent to Assyria, which the Mannai had taken away in the reigns of the kings, my fathers —those habitations I conquered. I uprooted the Mannai from within them. Horses and weapons, their tools of war, I carried away to Assyria. I took those cities in possession again and added them to the territory of Assyria. As for Ahsheri, who did not fear my lordship—* * * Ishtar delivered him into the hands of his subjects; the people of his land made a revolt against him, etc.

[1] Another account inserts the following additional narrative here before the campaign against Teumman:

In those days I conquered seventy-five strong cities of Birizhadra, a city ruler of the Medes, and Sarati and Parihia, sons of Gagi, city rulers

In my fifth campaign I directed the march to Elam. By the command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku, in the month Elul, the

of the land of Sahi, who had cast off the yoke of my lordship, and I carried away their spoil. Them themselves I seized alive with my own hands and brought to Nineveh, the city of my lordship.

As for Andaria, the prefect of Lubdi, who had marched and advanced by night to capture Ubbume and Kullimeri—the inhabitants of Kullimeri, servants subject to me, inflicted great slaughter upon him in the night; they let not one escape. They cut off the head of Andaria and brought it to Nineveh into my presence.

In my sixth campaign I went against Urtaku, King of Elam, who had not considered the good which my father had done him and had not kept friendship (with me). At a time when famine prevailed and hunger existed in Elam, I had had corn taken to him for the sustenance of the people's lives, and I had seized his hand (i. e., supported him). His people who had fled from before the famine and had settled in Assyria until rain should fall in his land and there should be a harvest—those people who had sustained their lives in my land I had had taken to him and * * * [next fifteen lines badly broken].

I despatched and sent my messenger. He went and returned and related to me repeatedly as follows: "The Elamite covers Akkad like a swarm of grasshoppers * * *; against Babylon he pitches his camp and lays siege." To the help of Bel and Nabu, my gods whose duty I reverenced, I mustered my men of war and took the way. He heard of the approach of my campaign and terror overwhelmed him, and he turned back to his own land. I took (the way) after him, brought about his defeat, and drove him to the border of his own land. Urtaki, King of Elam, who had not kept friendship (with me), in a day not destined for him, death * * *; in pain he perished * * *. In the ground of life his feet * * *. In this year he lost (?) his life. Bel-iqisha, a Gambulian, who had cast off the yoke of my lordship, lost his life through the bite of a wild boar. Nabu-shum-eresh, the TIG.EN.NA, who did not keep the covenant, bore dropsy and full waters. Upon Marduk-shum-ibni, his military governor, who had led him astray and who had brought evil upon Urtake, Marduk, king of the gods, laid his great sins. In one year they laid down their lives in each other's presence. The angry heart of Ashur did not rest with reference to them; the passion of Ishtar who supported me was not soothed with reference to them. They overthrew his royal reign and caused another to take the lordship of Elam. Afterward Teumman, like a demon, took his seat upon the throne of Urtake. In order to kill the sons of Urtake and the sons of Ummanaldash, Urtake's brother, he devised evil. Ummanigash, Ummanappa, and Tammaritu, the sons of Urtake, King of Elam, and Kudurru and Paru, the sons of Ummanaldash, the king who preceded Urtake, and sixty of the royal seed, and archers without number—the nobles of Elam, who had fled from before the murder of Teumman, their uncle, seized my royal feet.

(month of the) mission of the goddesses, the month of Ashur, the king of the gods, the father of the gods, great in lordship, like the onset of a mighty storm I covered the land of Elam throughout its extent. I cut off the head of Teumman, their king, the rebel who had devised evil.[1] I slew his warriors without number. I carried away his soldiers alive in my hands. I filled the plain around Susa with their bodies like as with thorns and thistles. I made their blood flow down the river Euläus, and dyed its water like wool. Ummanigash, son of Urtaki, King of Elam, who had fled to Assyria from before Teumman and had seized my feet, I brought with me to Elam and set him on the throne of Teumman. Tammaritu, his third brother, who had fled with him, I established as king in Hidalu.

After I had made the weapons of Ashur and Ishtar rage over Elam, and had manifested might and power, I turned my face on my return against Dunanu of Gambulu, who had trusted in Elam. I conquered Shapibel, the fortress of Gambulu. I entered into that town; I slaughtered its inhabitants like wild animals. Dunanu and Samgunu, who had obstructed the exercise of my sovereignty, I bound hand and foot in bonds, iron fetters, and iron manacles. I led away from Gambulu to Assyria as booty the rest of the children of Beliqisha, his family, the members of his father's house, as many as there were, Nabunaid and

[1] The following inscription is written over figures of two men, one of whom is wounded by an arrow and the other is standing with bow stretched:

Teumman, in the depths of despair said to his son, "Shoot with the bow."

This is written over two figures of men who have been beheaded:

Teumman, King of Elam, who was wounded in my powerful battle. Tamritu, his oldest son, seized his hand, and, to save their lives, they fled and hid themselves in a forest. Under the protection of Ashur and Ishtar, I bound them and cut off their heads in each other's presence.

Written above the figure of a man in a chariot holding the head of a man in his hands:

The head of Teumman, King of Elam, which the ahurru of my troops cut off in battle, they brought hastily to Assyria as a message of joyful tidings.

Beletir, the sons of Nabushumerish, the TIG.EN.NA, and the bones of their father, together with Urbi and Tebe, people of Gambulu, and oxen, sheep, asses, horses, and mules. His fortress Shapibel I destroyed, I tore down, and I ruined with water.

At that time Shamash-shum-ukin, the faithless brother, to whom I had done good, and whom I had established as King of Babylon, and for whom I had made every possible kind of royal decoration, and had given him, and had gathered together soldiers, horses, and chariots, and had intrusted them to him, and had given him cities, fields, and woods, and the men dwelling in them, even more than my father had commanded—even he forgot that favour I had shown him, and he planned evil. Outwardly with his lips he spoke friendly things, while inwardly his heart plotted murder. He spoke deceitfully with the Babylonians, who were subject to Assyria and servants yielding obedience to me, and he planned treachery with them. He sent them to me at Nineveh in order to greet me with a cunning message. I, Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria, to whom the great gods have allotted a favourable fate and whom they created in truth and righteousness, made these Babylonians sit at a dainty table, arrayed them in clothing of party-coloured stuffs, and encircled their fingers with rings of gold, as long as these Babylonians remained in Assyria in order to wait for an expression of my will. But he, Shamash-shum-ukin, my faithless brother, who had violated the treaty with me, stirred up a revolt against me among the people of Akkad, Kaldu, and the sea-land from Aqaba as far as Bab-salimeti—servants who were subject to me. Ummanigash, also, a fugitive who had seized my royal feet, and whom I had established as king in Elam, and the kings of Guti, the west-land, and Meluhhu, whom my hands had established by the command of Ashur and Beltis—all of them he aroused to hostility against me, and they made common cause with him. He barred the city gates of Sippar, Babylon, and Borsippa, and broke off

fraternal relations (with me). He made his warriors go up upon the walls of these towns, and they began war against me. He ceased offering sacrifices for me before Bel, the son of Bel, the light of the gods, Shamash, and the warrior Gira; and he discontinued the giving of my sacrifices. He plotted evil in order to seize the cities, the dwellings of the great gods, whose shrines I had renewed and had restored with gold and silver, and had placed decorations in them.

At that time a certain seer was lying asleep during the night, and he saw a vision, thus:[1] On the disk of Sin (the moon) there was written as follows: "Whoever plots evil against Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria, and begins hostilities against him, I will send an evil death upon. I will bring his life to an end by the swift, iron dagger, the firebrand, famine, or the devastation of Gira" (i. e., the pest-god). I heard these things and I trusted in the word of Sin, my lord.

In my sixth campaign I mustered my troops and directed the march against Shamash-shum-ukin. I shut him up, together with his warriors, in Sippar, Babylon, Borsippa, and Kutha, and cut off their escape. In city and field I brought defeat upon them without number. The rest perished by the scourge of Gira, by hunger, and famine.

Against Ummanigash, King of Elam, the creature of my hands who had accepted a bribe from him (i. e., Shamash-shum-ukin) and had come to an alliance with him, Tammaritu revolted and slew both him and his family with the sword. Thereupon Tammaritu, who took his seat upon the throne of Elam after Ummanigash, did not send to greet me, the king, but went to the help of Shamash-shum-ukin, my hostile brother, and hastened his weapons to battle with my troops. In consequence of the prayers which I had offered to Ashur and Ishtar, they

[1] A variant reads:
Nabu, the scribe of every kind of divine work, stood and read a writing on the disk of Sin (that is, the moon).

received my petitions and heard the utterance of my lips. Indabigash, his servant, rebelled against him, and brought about his defeat in the battlefield. Tammaritu, King of Elam, who had already spoken with insolence concerning the beheading of Teumman, whom my troops had beheaded ahurru, saying, "Will they behead the King of Elam in his own country in the midst of his troops?" spoke for the second time, saying, "How has Ummanigash kissed the ground before the messenger of Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria!" Ashur and Ishtar punished him for those words which he had recklessly spoken, and Tammaritu, with his brother, his family, the offspring of his father's house, and eighty-five princes who walked at his side, were put to flight before Indabigash. Their hearts boiled with rage, and they came to Nineveh. Tammaritu kissed my royal feet and swept the ground with his beard; threw himself beneath my wheels and of his own accord determined to serve me. By the command of Ashur and Ishtar he besought my lordship to secure him his rights and go to his aid, standing before me and praising the strength of the mighty gods, my lords, who had come to my help. I, Ashurbanipal, the great-hearted, who bears no grudge against the violent, and who condones rebellion, showed mercy to Tammaritu and placed him, together with the children of his father's house, within my palace.

At that time famine laid hold of the people of Akkad who had sided with Shamash-shum-ukin and had plotted evil, and they ate the flesh of their sons and daughters in order to satisfy their hunger, and they cut open their stomachs (?). Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku, who went before me and subdued my foes, threw Shamash-shum-ukin, the hostile brother who had attacked me, into an abyss of burning fire and destroyed his life. But as for the men who had formed plans against Shamash-shum-ukin, the hostile brother, and had accomplished this wicked deed, who

feared death, and whose life was precious in their own eyes so that they had not thrown themselves into the fire with Shamash-shum-ukin, their lord; who had fled from before the slaughter of iron dagger, hunger, famine, and burning fire, and had seized a place of refuge—the net of the great gods, my lords, from which there is no escape, overthrew them; not one escaped; not a rebel went forth from my hands; they (i. e., the gods) delivered them into my hands. They brought before me chariots, a state carriage, a canopy, his wives, and the property of his palace. I cut out the tongues of those soldiers in whose mouths was insolence because they had spoken insolence against Ashur, my lord, and had plotted evil against me, the prince who fears him; and I murdered them. As for the rest of the men who were alive, by the bull-colossi, where my grandfather, Sennacherib, had made a slaughter, there I at that time slew those men as a lamentation for him. I let dogs, swine, vultures (?), eagles, birds of the heavens, and fish of the ocean eat their flesh, which was cut off.

After I had done these things and had pacified the hearts of the great gods, my lords, I brought forth from Babylon, Kutha, and Sippar, and threw into heaps the bones of the bodies of the men whom Gira had destroyed, and those who had died of hunger and famine—the remnant of the food of the dogs and swine which choked the streets and filled the broad spaces. By the work of the priesthood I purified their shrines and cleansed their defiled streets. I pacified their enraged gods and angry goddesses with a dirge and penitential prayers. I completely restored and re-established like as in former days their cultus which had been diminished. I showed favour to the rest of the inhabitants of Babylon, Kutha, and Sippar, who had escaped slaughter, massacre, and famine; and I commanded that they should be allowed to live, and made them dwell in Babylon.

The men of Akkad, with those of Kaldu, Aramu, and the sea-coast, whom Shamash-shum-ukin had allied to himself and had made of one mind, became hostile to me

of their own accord. By the command of Ashur and Beltis and the great gods, my supporters, I completely subdued them all and laid upon them the yoke of Ashur which they had cast off. I set over them governors and prefects appointed by my hands. I laid upon them the former continual and regular sacrifices to Ashur and Beltis and the gods of Assyria. I levied on them tribute and taxes to me as lord (to be paid) yearly without fail.

In my seventh campaign, in the month of Siwan, the month of Sin, the lord of decisions, the first-born son and prince of Bel, I mustered my troops and directed the march against Ummanaldash, King of Elam.[1] I took with me Tammaritu, King of Elam, who had fled from before Indabigash, his servant, and had laid hold of my feet. The men of Hilmu, Billati, Dummuqu, Sulai, Lahira, and Dibirina heard of the advance of my mighty battle-array

[1] The course of events in Elam prior to Ashurbanipal's campaign against Ummanaldash is stated in a parallel inscription as follows:

Indabigash, who had taken his seat upon the throne of Elam after Tammaritu, saw the might of my weapons which I had caused to rage over Elam in former days. Indabigash brought out from his father's house the Assyrians whom I had sent to an alliance with Nabu-bel-shume, son of Nabu-aplu-iddina, who had marched with him like a friend and companion to the protection of his country, whom Nabu-bel-shume had seized by treachery and had taken with him into captivity. In order to secure favour * * * his kindness * * * from the border of his land he brought before me by the hands of his messengers in order to establish a covenant and peace.

Concerning Nabu-bel-shume, son of Nabu-aplu-iddina, a servant subordinate to me, who had fled and gone to Elam, and the rest of the Assyrians whom Nabu-bel-shume had seized by treachery and taken with him, I sent to Indabigash by the hand of his messenger as follows: "Because thou dost not bring those men, I will surely come and destroy thy cities and carry off the inhabitants of Susa, Madaktu, and Hidalu, and hurl thee down from thy royal throne and set another upon thy throne, and bring upon thee the disaster which I inflicted upon Teumman." As for him, his messenger did not reach him and did not relate to him the expression of my will. By the command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku, who walk at my side and destroy my enemies, they heard in Elam of the coming of my messenger whom I had sent to Diru. The fear of my sovereignty wherewith the great gods had adorned me, overwhelmed Elam, and his land rebelled against Indabigash and they killed him with the sword. I set Ummanaldash, son of Attametu, upon his throne.

wherewith I was approaching the land of Elam, and the brilliancy of Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, and the fear of my majesty overwhelmed them. They themselves, with their people, their cattle, and their sheep, hurried to Assyria in order to become my servants, and laid hold of my royal feet.

In the course of my campaign I conquered the ancient Bit-Imbi, a royal city and fortress of Elam, which blocked the way to Elam like a great wall, which Sennacherib, King of Assyria, my grandfather, had conquered before me; but he—the Elamite—had again built a city in front of the ancient Bit-Imbi and had strengthened its walls and built its outer wall high and named it Bit-Imbi. I killed its inhabitants who did not come forth and greet my majesty. I beheaded them and cut off their lips and took them to Assyria as a spectacle for the people of my land. Imbappi, the prefect of Bit-Imbi, the son-in-law of Ummanaldash, King of Elam, I brought forth alive from within that city, and I laid fetters of iron on his hands and feet and carried him to Assyria. I brought forth the royal wife and the son of Teumman, King of Elam, whom I had beheaded in a former campaign by the command of Ashur, together with the rest of the inhabitants of Bit-Imbi, and I treated them as spoil.

Ummanaldash, King of Elam, heard of the entrance of my troops, which had entered Elam, and he abandoned Madaktu, his royal city, and fled, and ascended his mountain. Umbahabua, who had fled to Bubilu after Elam revolted and had taken his seat on the throne of Elam instead of Ummanaldash, heard thereof, like as he had, and abandoned Bubilu, the city of the seat of his lordship, and like a fish took to the bottom of distant waters.

I led Tammaritu, who had fled and laid hold of my feet, into Susa, and made him king. He forgot the favour which I had done him in sending him help, and he formed an evil plot to conquer my troops. Thus he spoke in his own heart, "The people of Elam, in whatever direction they turn, are subject to Assyria, and they (i. e., the As-

syrians) will come in and will plunder Elam." Ashur and Ishtar, who walked at my side and enabled me to stand against my foes, looked into the heart of Tammaritu, the wicked rebel, and brought him to account. They hurled him down from his royal throne and turned him aside a second time and made him bow at my feet. On account of these things and in the rage of my heart because the faithless Tammaritu had rebelled, in the might and strength of the great gods, my lords, I marched victoriously throughout the whole extent of Elam.

On my return in peace with full hands I turned the front of my yoke toward Assyria. Gatudu, Gatuduma, Daiba, Nadi, Duru-Amnani, Duru-Amnanima, Hamanu, Taraqu, Hajalilsi, Bit-Kunukkubitsu, Bit-Arrabi, Imbi, Madaktu, Susa, Bubi, Timmen-Marduk-sharrani, Urdalika, Algariga, Tubu, Tel-Tubu, Dun-sharri, Dur-Undasi, Dur-Undasima, Bubilu, Samunu, Bunaku, Qabrina, Qabrinama, Hara—these towns I conquered, destroyed, devastated, and burned with fire. I carried away their gods, their people, their cattle, their sheep, their property, their possessions, their wagons, their horses, their mules, their weapons, and their implements of war as spoil to Assyria.

In my eighth campaign by the command of Ashur and Ishtar I mustered my troops and directed the march against Ummanaldash, King of Elam. I conquered again Bit-Imbi, which I had conquered in my former campaign, and Rashu and Hamanu with its district. Now he, Ummanaldash, King of Elam, heard of the capture of Rashu and Hamanu, and the fear of Ashur and Ishtar, who walked at my side, overwhelmed him. He abandoned Madaktu, his royal city, and fled to Dur-Undasi. He crossed the Idide and made that river his fortress. He gathered (his forces) to battle against me. I conquered a royal city, Naditu, with its district; I conquered Bit-bunaku, a royal city, with its district; I conquered Hartabanu, a royal city, with its district; I conquered Tubu, a royal city, with its district, (which) all lay in the river. I conquered Madaktu, a royal city, with its district; I con-

quered Haltemash, his royal city; I conquered Susa, his royal city; I conquered Din-Sharri, (and) Sumuntunash, his royal city; I conquered Pidilma, his royal city; I conquered Bubilu, his royal city; and I conquered Albinak, his royal city. Under the protection of Ashur and Ishtar I pursued and marched against Ummanaldash, King of Elam, who had not submitted to my yoke. In the course of my campaign I conquered Dur-Undasi, his royal city. My troops saw the Idide a raging torrent, and were afraid of the crossing. Ishtar, who dwells in Arbela, during the night revealed a dream to my troops and spoke thus to them: "I march before Ashurbanipal, the king, whom my hands created." My troops trusted in that dream and crossed the Idide in safety. Fourteen cities, his royal dwelling-places, as well as small cities, which were innumerable, and twelve districts which were all in Elam, I conquered, destroyed, devastated, and burned with fire. I turned them into mounds and plough-land. I killed his warriors without number, and slew his proud soldiers with weapons. Ummanaldash, King of Elam, fled in his chagrin and seized a mountain. I conquered Banunu and the districts of Tasarra in their entirety. I conquered twenty cities in the districts of Hunnir, on the border of the city Hidalu. I laid waste and destroyed Bashimu and the cities in its environs. I slew the people who lived in them. I smashed their gods and I appeased the spirit of the lord of lords. I carried away his gods, his goddesses, his property, his possessions, and the people, small and great, as spoil to Assyria. By the command of Ashur and Ishtar, who had sent me, I entered sixty leagues into Elam and marched victoriously through it.

On my return, when Ashur and Ishtar enabled me to stand against my foes, I conquered Susa, a great city, the abode of their gods, the seat of their oracles. By the command of Ashur and Ishtar I entered his palaces and sat down with joy. I opened their treasure-houses, wherein was stored up silver, gold, property, and possessions, which the former kings of Elam and the kings who rule even up

to these days had gathered and stored away, and on which no other enemy besides me had laid his hand, and I brought it out and counted it as spoil. I carried away to Assyria as spoil silver, gold, property, and possessions of Sumer, Akkad, and Karduniash—everything which the former kings of Elam had carried away as spoil in seven times and had brought into Elam—splendid çariru-metal, shining eshmaru-metal, precious stones (which were) a costly ornament, fit for kings, which the former kings of Akkad and Shamash-shum-ukin had paid to Elam for the purpose of a league with them; clothing (which was) fitting decoration for kings, weapons of war, trophies, everything used in battle such as were fit for his hand; all the portable furniture of his palaces—that whereon he had sat and slept, that from which he had eaten and drunk and poured libations and anointed himself; chariots, state-carriages, wagons covered with çariru and zahalu-metal, horses, and large mules whose harness was of gold and silver. I destroyed the temple tower of Susa, which was made with an incasement of uknu-stone, and I broke off its turrets, which were made of shining copper. Shushinak, the god of their oracles, who dwells in hidden places, whose divine activity no one sees, Shumudu, Lagamaru, Partikira, Ammankasibar, Uduran, Sapak, whom the kings of Elam worshipped, Husun, Ragiba, Sungursara, Karsa, Kirsamas, Sudanu, Aipaksina, Bilala, Panintimri, Silagara, Napsa, Napirtu, Kindakarpu—these gods and goddesses with their ornaments, their possessions, their furnishings, their priests and temple-servants (?) I carried away to Assyria. I took to Assyria thirty-two statues of kings which were made of silver, gold, copper, and alabaster, from Susa, Madaktu, and Huradi; and also a statue of Ummanigash, son of Umbadara; a statue of Ishtarnanhundi; a statue of Halusi; and a statue of Tammaritu, the second, who had become my servant by the command of Ashur and Ishtar. I threw down the bull-colossi and the guardian gods and all the other watchers of the temple, and I tore down the fierce wild oxen which decorated the

doors. I overthrew the temples of Elam until there were no more. I gave its gods and goddesses to the winds. My soldiers entered into their secret forests into which no stranger had ever pressed and whose borders no (stranger) had trod; they saw their secret places and burned them with fire. The mausoleums of their kings, the earlier and later ones, who had not feared Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, but had been hostile to the kings, my fathers, I destroyed and laid waste and exposed them to the sun. I took their bones to Assyria; I gave their shades no repose, and deprived them of their food and drink-offerings. I laid waste the regions of Elam during a march of one month (and) twenty-five days, and I strewed salt and thorns over them. I carried away to Assyria as spoil kings' daughters and kings' sisters, along with the older and younger families of the kings of Elam, prefects, the governors of all the cities which I had conquered, chief archers, officers, charioteers (?), the III HU.SI, the master of the horse, archers, chiefs, artisans, all the workmen, as many as there were, people—male and female, small and great—horses, mules, asses, and oxen and sheep, which were more numerous than locusts. I took the dust of Susa, Madaktu, Haltemash, and the rest of their cities like * * * to Assyria. In thirty days I overpowered Elam throughout its entire extent. I deprived its fields of the shouts of men, the trampling of cattle and sheep, and the glad cry of joy. I made the wild asses and gazelles, the animals of the field, as many as there were, lie down therein like * * *

As for Nanna [1] who had been angry for sixteen hundred and thirty-five years and had gone and dwelt in Elam, a place not suitable to her, and who in those days along

[1] Another account tells of the carrying off of Nanna as follows:

Kudurnanhundi, the Elamite, who did not fear the great gods and who in confusion of mind trusted to his own might, and laid his hand upon the shrines of Akkad and laid waste the land of Akkad [* * *] the days were fulfilled; the allotted time had come, the great gods [saw] the deeds and after sixteen hundred and thirty-five years [avenged] the devastation of the Elamite. They sent me, Ashur-bani-pal, a prince, who fears them, to bring Elam to naught and [they put into my hands] an un[sparing] weapon.

with the gods, her fathers, had announced my name for lordship over the lands, and had intrusted the return of her divine self to me, saying, "Ashurbanipal shall lead me forth from wicked Elam, and shall cause me to enter E-anna"—at that time they (i. e., the gods) caused men of later days to see the (execution of) their divine word of command which they had spoken from ancient times. I seized the hand of her great divinity, and with joy of heart she took the straight way to E-anna. On the first day of the month of Kislev I brought her into Erech and gave her a dwelling in E-shargubana, which she loved, in an everlasting shrine.

I presented to my gods the best of the people and of the spoil of Elam, which I had plundered in accordance with the command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku. I added to my royal host the archers, shield-bearers, workmen, and artisans whom I had carried away as spoil from Elam. The rest I distributed like sheep among the cities, the habitations of the great gods, my prefects, my great men, and my whole camp.

Ummanaldash, King of Elam, who had seen the violence of the mighty weapons of Ashur and Ishtar, came back from the mountains where was his refuge, and entered into Madaktu, a city which by the command of Ashur and Ishtar I had torn down and destroyed and spoiled, and he seated himself in mourning in the place of sadness.

As for Nabu-bel-shume, the grandson of Merodachbaladan, who had broken the covenant with me, and had cast off the yoke of my lordship, who had made the kings of Elam his strength, and had trusted in Ummanigash, Tammaritu, Indabigash, and Ummanaldash, the kings who had exercised the lordship of Elam—concerning the delivering up of Nabu-bel-shume I sent my messenger in the fulness of (my) wrath to Ummanaldash. Nabu-bel-shume, grandson of Merodachbaladan, heard of the coming of my messenger who had entered Elam, and

his heart was troubled and anguish seized him, and his life became worthless in his eyes and he longed for death. He commanded his own shield-bearer thus: "Slay me with the weapons." He and his shield-bearer (thereupon) ran each other through with the iron dagger of their girdles. Ummanaldash was afraid and laid the corpse of the aforesaid Nabu-bel-shume in salt, and gave it, together with the head of his shield-bearer who had run him through with the weapon, to my messenger, and he brought it into my presence. I did not give his corpse over to burial, but I made his death more complete than before and cut off his head and hung it on the neck of Nabuqatiçabat, a Sin-magir of Shamash-shum-ukin, the hostile brother, who had gone with him to make Elam hostile (to me).

Paë, who exercised lordship over Elam in place of Ummanaldash, thought upon the rage of the mighty weapons of Ashur and Ishtar, which they had poured out upon Elam once, twice, three times, and hopelessness seized him. He fled from Elam and seized my royal feet. The rebellious people of Bit-Imbi, Kuzurten, Dur-sharri, Masutu, Bube, Bit-Unzai, Bit-Arrabi, Iprat, Dimtu-sha-Tapapa, Akbarina, Qurukirra, Dunnu-Shamash, Hamanu, Kaniçu, Aranziashi, Nagidati, Dimtu-sha-Simame, Bit-Qatatti, Sha-Kisai, Subahe, Tel-Humba, who had fled before the mighty weapons of Ashur and Ishtar in my former campaign, and had seized Saladri, an impassable mountain—these people who had made the mountain Saladri their stronghold, the brilliance of Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, overwhelmed. They fled from the mountain where they had taken refuge, and they seized my feet. I gathered them for the bow and added them to my royal host which they (i. e., the gods) had intrusted to me.

In my ninth campaign I mustered my troops[1] and directed the march against Uaite, King of Arabia, who had

[1] A parallel passage reads as follows:

Yaûta', son of Hazael, King of Kedar, who yielded obedience to me, prayed to me, and besought my kingship for the sake of his gods which my father had carried off as spoil. I made him pronounce the name of the great gods and gave him back the Atarsamain. Afterward he vio-

broken my treaty, and had not kept in mind the favours which I had shown him, but had thrown off the yoke of my lordship, which Ashur had laid upon him, in order that he should be tributary to me. He had refrained from asking after my welfare, and had withheld the gift of his heavy tribute. Like Elam, he heard of the rebellious plans of Akkad, and disregarded my treaty. Me—Ashurbanipal—the king, the pure priest, the pious chief, the product of the hands of Ashur, he deserted and to Abiyate and Ayamu, sons of Teri, he handed over his forces and sent them to the help of Shamash-shum-ukin, the hostile brother, and made common cause with him. He (i. e., Shamash-shum-ukin) stirred up the Arabians to revolt along with himself, and made plundering raids upon the people, dominion over whom Ashur, Ishtar, and the great gods had given to me to exercise and had intrusted to me. At the command of Ashur and Ishtar I summoned my troops; on the way to Azarilu and Hirataqaçai, in Edom, in the pass of Yabruď, in Beth-Ammon, in the districts of Hauran, in Moab, in Sa'arri, in Harge, and in the districts of Çubitu, a countless number of his men I killed and brought about his defeat. The Arabians, as many as had gone forth with him, I ran through with the sword, while he himself escaped from before Ashur's mighty weapons and fled afar off. They set fire to the tents, their dwellings, and burned them up. Disaster overtook Uaite, and he fled alone to Nabataea.

As for Uaite, son of Hazael, cousin of Uaite, son of Birdadda, who had made himself King of Arabia—Ashur, king of the gods, the great rock, changed his purpose, and he came into my presence. In order to exhibit the majesty of Ashur and the great gods, my lords, I laid heavy punishment upon him, in that I put him in a cage, and with wild beasts (?) and dogs I bound him and set him to

lated the treaty with me and did not cherish the good (which I had done him) and cast off the yoke of my lordship and withheld his feet from coming to greet me and kept back the present. He led the Arabians to revolt with him and carried off the plunder of the west-land. I sent against him my troops which were occupying the border of his land, etc.

watch the city gate of Nineveh, (which is called) "The entrance to Temple-street."

Ammuladi also, King of Kedar, advanced in order to make war upon the kings of the west-land, whom Ashur, Ishtar, and the great gods had intrusted to me. Under the protection of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku, I brought about his defeat. Him, together with Adiya,[1] wife of Uaite, King of Arabia, they captured alive and brought before me. By the command of the great gods, my lords, I put a dog-chain on him and set him to watch in a cage.

By the command of Ashur, Ishtar, and the great gods, my lords, I slew the ally of Abiyate and Ayamu, sons of Teri, who had come to the help of Shamash-shum-ukin, the hostile brother, in order to enter into Babylon, and I brought about his defeat. The rest of them, who had entered into Babylon, through stress of famine ate one another's flesh. In order to save their lives they came forth from Babylon, and my army, which was besieging Shamash-shum-ukin, defeated him for the second time, while he himself fled alone, and in order to save his life threw himself at my feet. I granted him mercy, made him swear to the compacts by the great gods, and I made him King of Arabia instead of Uaite, son of Hazael.

However, he made common cause with the Nabataeans, and did not fear the oath by the great gods, but plundered the border of my land. Through the influence of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku, Natnu, King of Nabataea, a far-distant country, to whom Uaite had fled, heard of the power of Ashur which emboldened me, and though never before had he sent his messengers to the kings, my fathers, and asked after their royal welfare, he was overcome by fear of the victorious

[1] Another inscription gives this account of the capture of Adiya:

I slew the warriors of Adiya, Queen of Arabia, in great numbers and burned their tents with fire. I seized her herself alive with my hands and [took] her, together with the plunder of [her] country, to Assyria.

arms of Ashur, so that he asked after my royal welfare. But Abiyate, son of Teri, unmindful of kindness, and regardless of the oath of the great gods, formed plans of revolt against me, and made common cause with Natnu, King of Nabataea, and they mustered their forces for an attack upon my border. By the command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku, I mustered my troops, and against Abiyate I directed the march. The Tigris and the Euphrates at full flood they crossed over in safety; they marched by distant paths; they climbed high mountains; they made their way through dense forests;[1] between high trees, thorns (?), briers (?), on a road full of brambles they marched uninjured. Through the land of Mash,[2] a region of thirst and starvation, where the birds of the heavens do not fly, and where wild asses and gazelles do not pasture, a journey of two hundred hours from Nineveh, the favourite city of Ishtar, the consort of Bel, after Uaite, King of Arabia, and Abiyate, who had joined forces with the army of Nabataea, they marched.

In the month of Siwan, the month of Sin, the first and most eminent son of Bel, on the twenty-fifth day of the procession of Beltis of Babylon, honoured among the great gods, I set out from Hadatta. Near Laribda, a fortress of kunukke stone, by cisterns of water, I pitched my camp. My troops provided themselves with water for their thirst and marched on through the land of thirst, the region of starvation, as far as Hurarina. Between Yarku and Azalla, in the land of the Mash,[2] a distant place, where wild animals do not live, and where the birds of the heavens do not make their nests, I brought about the defeat of the Isami, the tent-dwellers of Atarsamain and of Nabataea. Men, asses, camels, and sheep without number I carried off as plunder. Sixteen hours' journey by land my troops marched on victoriously and returned in safety. In Azalla they drank their fill of water. From Azalla as far as Quraçiti, twelve

[1] Literally, forests whose shade was broad. [2] Or, the wilderness.

hours' march through a land of thirst and starvation they went on. I surrounded the tent-dwellers of Atarsamain and the Kedarenes of Uaite, son of Birdadda, King of Arabia. His gods, his mother, his sister, his wife, his family, the whole population of Kedar; the asses, the camels, and sheep, as many of them as my hands had captured under the protection of Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, I set on the road to Damascus. In the month of Ab, the month of the Bow-star, the daughter of warlike Sin, on the third day, the festival of Marduk, king of the gods, I set out from Damascus; twelve hours' journey, all night long, I marched and came to Arhuliti. At Hukkurina, an impassable mountain, I came upon the tent-dwellers of Abiyate, son of Teri, the Kedarene. I defeated him and carried away his spoil. Abiyate and Ayamu, sons of Teri, by the command of Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, my hands captured alive in battle. On their hands and feet I put iron chains, and along with the spoil of their land I took them to Assyria. The fugitives, who had fled from before my weapons, were afraid and took refuge on an impassable mountain. In Manhanabbi, Apparu, Tenuquri, Zayuran, Marqana, Sadaten, Enzikarme, Tana, Irrana—over all places where were cisterns and springs of water, as many as there were, I set watches, and I cut off the water necessary to their lives, allowing them only an occasional drink. They died of thirst, and the rest cut open the camels of their herds, and to quench their thirst drank the blood and the water of the entrails. Of those who had gone up into the mountain, and had entered in and occupied a place of refuge, not one escaped, not a rebel escaped my hands; in their place of refuge my hands captured them: the people—male and female—the asses, camels, cattle and sheep, in countless numbers I carried away as spoil to Assyria. The whole of my land which Ashur had given to me—all of it—throughout its whole extent they filled up. Camels, like sheep, I divided and distributed to the people of Assyria. In my land camels were worth from a half-shekel to a shekel of silver apiece (?) at the auction gate. The çutammu for a

nidni, the amelu SI(A)M for a ha-pi-e, the gardener for his kishu, from him whom I had appointed (?) bought camels and slaves.[1]

The warlike Pest-god overthrew Uaite, together with his troops, who had not kept my treaty and had escaped from before the weapons of Ashur, my lord, and fled before them. Famine arose among them, and for their hunger they ate the flesh of their children. The curses, as many as were inscribed upon their treaty, Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku suddenly brought upon them. Young camels, suhiru, calves and lambs sucked their dams seven times each, and yet did not satisfy their stomachs with milk. The Arabians asked one of another, "Why has such calamity as this come upon Arabia?" [and were answered], "Because we have not kept the great oaths of Ashur, but have rebelled against the favours of Ashurbanipal, the king, the beloved of Bel." Beltis, the beloved of Bel, the strong one, honoured of the goddesses, who sits enthroned with Anu and Bel, gored my enemies with her mighty horns. Ishtar, who dwells in Arbela, clothed in flames and arrayed in brilliancy, rained down fire upon Arabia. The warlike Pest-god girded on war and overthrew my enemies. Ninib, the lance, the great warrior, the son of Bel, with his sharp arrows cut off my enemies. Nusku, the exalted messenger, who glorifies my lordship, who at the command of Ashur and the warlike Beltis, queen of * * * walked at my side and protected my sovereignty, placed himself at the head of my troops and overthrew my foes. The troops of Uaite heard of the attack of the weapons of Ashur and Ishtar, the great gods, my lords, who came to my aid in battle, and they rebelled against him. He feared, fled from his house and went forth. Under the protection of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ish-

[1] While most of the words in this sentence are unknown, the general sense seems to be that camels were so cheap that any common workingman could secure a camel in exchange for one of his ordinary tools.

tar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku, my hands captured him and brought him to Assyria. In answer to my prayer which I had made for the overthrow of my enemies, by the command of Ashur and Beltis, with my sharp weapon held in my hand I pierced his jaw; through his cheek I put a rope (?); a dog-collar I put on him and at the east gate of Nineveh, which is called "The entrance to Temple-street," I set him to watch in a cage. In order that he might be submissive to the majesty of Ashur, Ishtar, and the great gods, my lords, I granted him mercy and let him live.

On my return march I conquered the city of Ushu, which is situated on the sea-coast. I killed the inhabitants of Ushu who had been disobedient to their governors in paying no tribute as the gift of their land. Among the unsubmissive population I executed judgment; their gods and their men I carried as spoil to Assyria. The people of Akko who were rebellious I killed; hung their bodies upon stakes, and surrounded the city with them. The rest of them I took to Assyria, formed them into a division and added them to my many troops, which Ashur had given me. Ayamu, son of Teri, who had taken sides with Abiyate, his brother, and had fought against my troops, I captured alive in battle with my own hands, and in Nineveh, my capital, I flayed him.

Ummanaldash, King of Elam, whom from of old Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, had commanded to be my servant, and against whom by the command of their exalted deity, which is inflexible, his land afterward rebelled, and who had fled alone from before the revolt of his servants which they had organized against him, and had seized a mountain, from the mountain, the place of his refuge, whither he had fled, I brought forth like a falcon (?) and took to Assyria alive. Tammaritu, Paë, and Ummanaldash, who one after another had exercised the lordship of Elam, and whom I had subjected to my yoke in the might of Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, and Uaite, King of Arabia, whom I had defeated in accordance with the command of Ashur

and Ishtar, and had taken from his own land to Assyria—when I went up to offer (?) sacrifices in E-mash-mash, the dwelling of their lordship, before Beltis, the mother of the great gods, the loved consort of Ashur, and took oaths by the gods of Bit-akit, I made them take the yoke of my state carriage, and they drew it beneath me to the gate of the temple. I threw myself upon my face and exalted their deity and praised their power in the midst of my hosts because Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku had subjected to my yoke those who were unsubmissive, and with might and power had placed me over my enemies.

Sar-duri, King of Urarti, whose fathers, the kings, had sent brotherly greetings to my fathers—at that time Sar-duri heard of the mighty deeds which the great gods had decreed for me, and like as a son sends a message of submission to his father, he sent a message like this to me: "Greetings to the king, my lord"; and with fear and submission he caused his heavy present to be brought into my presence.

At that time the harem, the resting-place of the palace which is in Nineveh, the lofty city which is loved by Beltis, which Sennacherib, my grandfather, King of Assyria, had built for his royal dwelling, that harem had become old with joy and gladness, and its walls had fallen. I, Ashur-banipal, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the world, the King of Assyria, the king of the four quarters of the world, because I had grown up in that harem, and Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Queen of Laws, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku had preserved me therein as crown-prince, and had extended their good protection and shelter of prosperity over me, and from the time when I took my seat upon the throne of my father and exercised lordship over widely extended lands and peoples had constantly sent me joyful tidings therein of victory over my enemies; and because my dreams on my bed at night were

pleasant, and on that of the morning my fancies were bright; and because that dwelling brings prosperity to its lord, and the great gods have decreed a favourable fate for it, I tore down its ruins. In order to extend its area I tore it all down. I erected a building the site of whose structure was fifty tibki (in extent). I raised a terrace; (but) I was afraid before the shrines of the great gods, my lords, and did not raise that structure very high. In a good month, on a favourable day, I put in its foundation upon that terrace and laid its brickwork. I emptied sesame-wine and wine upon its cellar, and poured also upon its earthen wall. In order to build that harem the people of my land hauled its bricks there in wagons of Elam which I had carried away as spoil by the command of the gods. I made the kings of Arabia, who had violated their treaty with me and whom I had captured alive in battle with my own hands, carry baskets and (wear) workmen's caps in order to build that harem; and I imposed forced service upon them. They spent their days in moulding its bricks and performing forced service for it to the playing of music. With joy and rejoicing I built it from its foundation to its roof. I made more room in it than before, and made the work upon it splendid. I laid upon it long beams of cedars, which grew upon Sirara and Lebanon. I covered doors of liaru-wood, whose odour is pleasant, with a sheath of copper, and hung them in its doorways. I covered long beams with bright copper, and laid them as the frame of the doors of its porch. I completed that harem, my royal dwelling, in its entirety, and filled it with splendour. I planted around it a grove of all kinds of trees, and Sha-sa-sa fruits of every kind. I finished the work of its construction, offered splendid sacrifices to the gods, my lords, dedicated it with joy and rejoicing, and entered therein under a splendid canopy.

In days to come may that one among the kings, my sons, whose name Ashur and Ishtar may proclaim for lordship over lands and peoples, when this harem becomes old and falls into decay, repair its damages; and may he see

the inscription with my signature and those of my father and of my grandfather, the enduring royal race; and may he anoint it with ointment and offer sacrifices and set it up along with the inscription on which his own name is written; and may the great gods—as many as are written on these inscriptions—present him with power and might as they have me! But whoever destroys the inscription with my signature and those of my father and of my grandfather, and does not set it up along with his own inscription—him may Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku condemn by a judgment including the naming of my name!

On the fifteenth of Iyyar in the eponymy of Shamash-udanninanni, governor of Akkad.

BUILDING OPERATIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL IN BABYLON (668 B. C.)

I AM Ashurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the world, King of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), king of kings, the prince without an equal, who by the command of Ashur, Shamash, and Marduk rules from the Upper to the Lower Sea, and has subdued all princes beneath his feet; the restorer of Esagila, the temple of the gods, who has made its fastenings bright like the starry heavens, and has repaired the damages of all the temples and established his protection over all cities; whose works are pleasing to all the gods, whose rule over the Black-headed people is acceptable; the son of Esarhaddon, king of the world, King of Assyria, governor of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, who peopled Babylon, built Esagila, renovated the shrines of all the cities, adorned their interior, re-established their daily offerings which had fallen into disuse, and restored the laws and ordinances of old; the grandson of Sennacherib, the great

king, the mighty king, king of the world, King of Assyria, am I.

The great lord Marduk, who, during the reign of the former king, dwelt in Asshur in the presence of his father[1] who begat him, in the days of my reign entered with rejoicing into Babylon, and I re-established the daily sacrifices of Esagila and of the gods of Babylon. I strengthened law and order in Babylon in order that the strong might not injure the weak. I appointed Shamash-shum-ukin, my twin brother, to the kingship of Babylon.

In those days, during my reign, I repaired the ruins of the wall of Ezida, which had become old, and whose foundation was weakened, and I built it high like a mountain.

May Nabu, the exalted lord, forever look upon my pious deeds with joy!

And as for me, Ashurbanipal, the prince who worships him,

May a word of favour toward me be found upon his lips!

Long life, abundance of offspring, health of body, and joy of heart may he appoint as my lot!

The foundation of my royal throne may he make firm like a mountain!

With the heavens and earth may he establish my reign!

And as for Shamash-shum-ukin, my twin brother, King of Babylon, may his days be long!

May he be satisfied with pleasures!

In all the future, may the later prince, in the course of whose reign this work may fall into ruins, repair its damages; my royal image may he find and anoint it with oil; may he offer sacrifices and set it up alongside of his own image; then Nabu will hear his prayer! But whosoever erases my inscription, tears down my royal image, changes its place and does not set it up alongside of his own image, may Nabu, the great lord, look upon him in

[1] That is, Marduk's father, Ashur.

wrath; overthrow his royal throne; and take away his lordship; his name and his seed may he destroy from all lands; and may he show him no mercy!

AN INSCRIPTION OF ASHURBANIPAL

From a Barrel Cylinder found at Aboo-Habba

I AM Ashurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the universe, the King of Assyria, the king of the four quarters of the world, the king of kings, the prince without a rival, who by the command of the gods, his supporters, ruled from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, and brought all princes to his feet; the son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the universe, the King of Assyria, the governor of Babylon, the King of Sumer and Akkad, who caused Babylon to be inhabited, who built Esagila, who restored the shrines of all the cities, who set up decorations within them, and re-established their daily sacrifices which had ceased; the grandson of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the universe, the King of Assyria.

During my reign the great lord Marduk entered with rejoicing into Babylon, and established his dwelling in Esagila forever. I re-established the daily sacrifices of Esagila and of the gods of Babylon. I strengthened law and order in Babylon in order that the strong might not injure the weak. I appointed Shamash-shum-ukin, my twin-brother, to the kingship of Babylon, and I completed the work of Esagila which was unfinished. I adorned Esagila with silver, gold, and precious stones, and made it shine like the starry heavens. I repaired the damages of Ekua and all the shrines. I exercised protection over all the cities.

In those days I sought out the sanctuaries of E-babbara, which is in Sippara, the house of Shamash, the great lord, my lord, which had become old, and had fallen in, and

had gone to ruin, and I had it built anew with brick-work, and I raised its head aloft like a mountain.

May the great judge of the gods, the great lord, my lord, forever look with joy upon my pious deeds, and for me, Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria, the prince who worships him, may he decree length of days, abundance of offspring, health of body, and joy of heart! And as for Shamash-shum-ukin, King of Babylon, my twin-brother, may he live long and be satisfied with renown!

Whenever in the future that work may fall into ruin, may the later prince, in the course of whose reign (it may happen), repair its ruins; may he inscribe my name along with his own name; may he see my inscription, anoint it with oil, offer a sacrifice, and set it up along with his own inscription: (then) Shamash will hear his prayer. Whoever treacherously obliterates my written name and the name of my twin-brother, and does not inscribe my name along with his own name, but destroys my inscription, and does not set it up along with his own inscription—upon him may Shamash, god of the upper and lower regions, look with anger, and may he destroy his name and his seed from the earth!

INSCRIPTION OF SHAMASH-SHUM-UKIN

SHAMASH-SHUM-UKIN, the mighty king, King of Ab-na-nu, King of Babylon, the wise, the prudent one, the shepherd, the favoured one of Bel, Shamash, and Marduk, the King of Sumer and Akkad, am I.

In my birthplace where my mother bare me, Erua, queen of the gods, joyfully named me for dominion over men. The great gods with joy selected me for the gathering of the scattered people of the land of Akkad, and with delight called me to restore the neglected laws and ordinances.

Marduk, king of the gods, joyfully accompanied me from Asshur to the seat of life. The great lord, the warrior Marduk, joyfully established his splendid dwelling in Esagila, the temple of heaven and earth. As for the great gods who inhabit the shrines of all the temples, I restored the precious laws and the ordinances dear to their hearts.

At that time I rebuilt the collapsed wall Bar-ul-ru-sa-a, the wall of Sippara, which had become weak and had fallen on account of the attack of the enemy, and I strengthened its weak places, and its battlements like a mountain I raised on high with earth.

Throughout the future, do thou, Shamash, heroic warrior, and thou, O Anunit, his consort, look with pleasure on my pious deeds and proclaim wherever you are worshipped that I, Shamash-shum-ukin, shall receive favour!

INSCRIPTION OF NABOPOLASSAR, KING OF BABYLON (Hilprecht), (625–604 B. C.)

To Marduk, the great lord, lord of the gods, the powerful, patron of the Igigi, oppressor of the Anunnaki, light of the gods, his fathers, who dwells in Esagila, lord of Babylon, my lord—Nabopolassar, governor of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, the lofty prince, who is under the guidance of Nabu and Marduk, the humble, the submissive, whose heart has learned the fear of god and goddess, the restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the one who looks after the rights (?) (temple dues (?)) of the great gods, am I.

When at the command of Nabu and Marduk, beloved of my royalty, and by the strong weapon of the powerful Dibbara who strikes my enemies with lightning, I destroyed the Subare (and) turned their land into mounds and plough-land; at that time, as for Etemenanki, the temple-tower of Babylon, which before my time had be-

come weakened and had fallen in, Marduk the lord commanded me to lay its foundation in the heart of the earth (and) to raise its turrets to heaven. Baskets, spades (?), and U.RU. I made out of ivory, ushu and mismakanna wood; I caused the numerous workmen assembled in my land to carry them. I set to work (?); I made bricks, I manufactured burned bricks. Like the downpour of heaven, which can not be measured, like the massive flood, I caused the Arahtu to carry bitumen and pitch. With the co-operation of Ea, with the insight of Marduk, with the wisdom of Nabu and Nisaba, in the broad understanding with which the god, my creator, had endowed me, with my great ingenuity (?), I came to a decision; I gave orders to the skilled workmen. With a nindanaku measure I measured the measurements of the aba ash-lam (?). The architects at first made a survey of the ground plot (?). Afterward I consulted Shamash, Ramman, and Marduk; to my heart they gave decision, they sanctioned the measurements, the great gods by decree indicated the later stages of the work. By means of exorcism, in the wisdom of Ea and Marduk, I cleared away that place, (and) on the original site I laid its platform-foundation; gold, silver, stones from mountain and sea in its foundation I set * * * goodly oil, sweet-smelling herbs, and * * * I placed underneath the bricks. An image of my royalty carrying a dupshikku I constructed; in the platform-foundation I placed it. Unto Marduk, my lord, I bowed my neck; I arrayed myself in my gown, the robe of my royalty. Bricks and mortar I carried on my head, a dupshikku of gold and silver I wore; and Nebuchadrezzar, the first-born, the chief son, beloved of my heart, I caused to carry mortar mixed with wine, oil, and (other) products along with my workmen. Nabu-shumlisher, his twin brother, the offspring of my own flesh, the junior, my darling, I ordered to take a basket and spade (?); a dupshikku of gold and silver I placed (on him). Unto Marduk, my lord, as a gift, I dedicated him. I built the temple in front of Esharra with joy and rejoicing, and like a mountain I raised its tower aloft; to Marduk,

my lord, as in days of old, I dedicated it for a sight to be gazed at.

O Marduk, my lord, look with favour upon my goodly deeds!

At thy exalted command, which can not be altered, let the performance of my hands endure forever!

Like the bricks of Etemenanki, which are to remain firm forever, do thou establish the foundation of my throne for all time!

O Etemenanki, grant blessing to the king who has restored thee!

When Marduk with joy takes up his abode in thee,

O temple, recall to Marduk, my lord, my gracious deeds!

INSCRIPTION OF NABOPOLASSAR (WINCKLER A)

NABOPOLASSAR, the King of Babylon, under the guidance of Nabu and Marduk, am I.

When Marduk, the great lord, by his supreme command, commissioned me to restore the cities and repair the temples—at that time, the river Euphrates had receded from Sippar, the splendid city, beloved of Shamash and A, and the waters were far (?) too distant for the service (?) of their lordships.

I, Nabopolassar, the humble, the submissive, who worships the gods, brought back (by digging) the river Euphrates (in its original channel) to Sippar; and I provided pure waters in abundance for Shamash, my lord. I walled up the banks of that river with mortar and brick, and I constructed a protecting wall for Shamash, my lord.

INSCRIPTION OF NABOPOLASSAR (WINCKLER B)

NABOPOLASSAR, the powerful king, King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, founder of the land, the exalted prince, under the guidance of Nabu and Marduk, the favourite of Shamash, beloved of A, the hero of heroes, whom the powerful Dibbara lets attain his every desire, the humble, the submissive, who has a care for the rights (?) (temple dues?) of the great gods, the king, whose works surpass those of the kings his fathers, am I.

At the time that Shamash the great lord walked at my side, and I destroyed the [rebellious, (and) turned the land of my foes into mounds and plough-land], at that time I rebuilt for the mistress of Sippar, the exalted princess, my mistress, E-edin-na, a temple wherein she might find peace of mind, and I made it brilliant as the day.

In the future, O mistress of Sippar, powerful mistress, when I have brought this temple to a state of completion, and thou hast taken up thy dwelling therein, do thou establish me, Nabopolassar, the king, thy restorer, forever like the bricks of Sippar and Babylon; and do thou permit my sovereignty to last into far future days!

THE EAST INDIA HOUSE INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II, KING OF BABYLON (601–565 B. C.)

NEBUCHADREZZAR, King of Babylon, the exalted prince, the favourite of Marduk, the lofty patesi, the beloved of Nabu, the arbiter, the possessor of wisdom, who seeks out the path of their divinity, who reverences their lordship; the untiring governor, who ponders daily concerning the maintenance of Esagila and Ezida, and is continually anxious for the shrines of Babylon and Borsippa; the wise, the pious, the maintainer of Esagila and Ezida, the chief son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I.

From the time that the lord my god, Marduk, had created me and had formed my embryo in the womb, at the time I was born, at the time I was created, I sought out the shrines of the god, the path of the god I followed. As for Marduk, the great lord, the god my creator, his clever deeds I held in high esteem. As for Nabu, his true son, the beloved of my royalty, the lofty path of his divinity I steadfastly followed; with all my faithful heart I loved the worship of their divinity, I reverenced their lordship.

At the time that Marduk, the great lord, lifted up my royal head and intrusted me with the rule of all people; and Nabu, the ruler of the host of heaven and earth, gave into my hands a righteous sceptre for the governing of the people; then, as for me, I stood in awe of them and sought out their divinity, for the renown of their famous name I reverenced both god and goddess. To Marduk my lord I made supplication; I read his prayers, and the word of my heart reached up to him. To him I spoke:

"O eternal prince! Lord of all being!
To the king whom thou lovest, and
Whose name thou hast proclaimed
As was pleasing to thee,
Do thou lead aright his name,
Guide him in a straight path.
I am the prince, thy favourite,
The creature of thy hand;
Thou hast created me, and
With dominion over all people
Thou hast intrusted me.
According to thy favour, O lord,
Which thou dost bestow on
All people,
Cause me to love thy exalted lordship,
And create in my heart
The worship of thy divinity,
And grant whatever is pleasing to thee,
Because thou hast fashioned my life."

He, the pre-eminent, the honoured, the leader of the gods, the Prince Marduk, heard my supplication and received my prayer. He made his exalted lordship favourable to me, the fear of his divinity he established in my heart, he incited my heart to do his service. I reverenced his lordship. Under his exalted protection, far-off lands, distant mountains, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, steep trails, unopened paths, where motion was impeded, where there was no foothold, difficult roads, journeys without water, I traversed, and the unruly I overthrew; I bound as captives my enemies; the land I set in order and the people I made to prosper; both bad and good among the people I took under my care (?); silver, gold, costly precious stones, bronze, palm-wood, cedar-wood, all kinds of precious things, a rich abundance, the product of the mountains, the wealth of the seas, a heavy gift, a splendid present, to my city Babylon I brought into his presence, and I undertook restorations in Esagila, the palace of his lordship.

E-kua, the shrine of the lord of the gods, Marduk, I made to glisten like the sun; its walls (?), with massive gold like imtu-stone, with ugnu-stone and alabaster (?)—the abode of the house—I decorated. The gate Hili-shud, the gate of splendour, and the gate of Ezida and Esagila I made as brilliant as the sun. The brilliant abode, the seat of the arbiters of fate, which is the place of congregation, the shrine of the Fates, where, on Zagmuku, the beginning of the year, on the eighth and the eleventh day, the king, the god of heaven and earth, the lord of heaven, takes up his residence, where the gods of heaven and earth reverently pay obedience and stand bowed down before him; a fate of a far-distant day, as the fate of my life, they determine therein: that shrine, the shrine of royalty, the shrine of lordly power, belonging to the leader of the gods, the Prince Marduk, which a former king had constructed with silver, I decorated with shining gold and brilliant ornaments. The vessels of the Temple of Esagila, with massive gold, Ma-kua (the ship of peace) with bright metals and

precious stones I adorned like the stars of the heavens. The temples of Babylon I rebuilt and restored. As for E-temen-an-ki (house of the foundation of heaven and earth) with burned brick and bright ugnu-stone I raised on high its turrets. To the rebuilding of Esagila my heart incited me; I held it constantly in mind. I selected the best of my cedar trees, which I had brought from Mount Lebanon, the snow-capped forest, for the roofing of E-kua, the shrine of his lordship, and I decorated with brilliant gold the inner sides of the mighty cedar trunks, used in the roofing of E-kua. I adorned the under side of the roof of cedar with gold and precious stones. Concerning the rebuilding of Esagila I prayed every morning to the king of the gods, the lord of lords.

Borsippa, the city of his abode, I beautified. Ezida, the eternal house, in the midst thereof I built. With silver, gold, precious stones, bronze, palm-wood, and cedar-wood I completed its construction. The cedar-wood of the roof of the shrines of Nabu I decorated with gold. The cedar-wood of the roof of the gate of Nana I decorated with shining silver. The wild-bulls and the doors of the gate of the shrine, the lintels, the bars, the bolt (?), and the lock I adorned with bright metal; and the cedar-wood of the roof, its eaves (?), I adorned with silver. The path to the shrine and the way to the temple were inclosed with eshmaru-metal; the rooms of the shrines in its midst were silver-work; the wild-bulls and the doors of the gates I made to shine brightly with za-ha-li-e metal. I adorned the temple with ornaments, I filled it with splendour for the astonished gaze (of all people). The shrines of Borsippa I rebuilt and restored. As for E-ur-VII-an-ki (the house of the seven spheres of heaven and earth) with burned brick and bright ugnu-stone I raised on high its turrets. The ship (ark) of the river Gan-ul, the conveyance of his highness, the ship of the procession of Zagmuku—a festival of Babylon—its hull and its inner compartments I decorated with rows of marble and (precious) stones.

E-sigisshe-sigisshe, the exalted festival-place of the lord

of the gods Marduk, the promoter of merriment and rejoicings among the Igigi and the Anunnaki, I constructed mountain-high with bitumen and burned brick on the walls of Babylon. E-mah, the Temple of the Lady of the Mountain, in the heart of Babylon, for the lofty goddess, the mother who bore me, I built in Babylon. For Nabu, the exalted messenger, who gives the righteous sceptre for the government of all peoples, E-pad(?)-kalama-shumma, his temple, with bitumen and burned brick I constructed in Babylon. For Sin, who looks with favour upon my forces, E-gish-shir-gal, his temple, I built in Babylon. For Shamash, the exalted judge * * * E-di-tar-kalama, his temple, I built very high with bitumen and burned brick in Babylon. For Ramman, who establishes abundance in my land, E-nam-hi, his temple, I built in Babylon. For Gula, who spares and protects my life, E-sa-be and E-har-sag-el-la, her temples, I built artistically with bitumen and burned brick in Babylon. For Nin-lil-an-na (the lady of heaven), the lady who loves me, E-dur(?)-garza, her temple, I built very high at the side of the wall of Babylon. For Tur-e, who breaks in pieces the weapons of my enemies, his temple I built in Borsippa. For Gula, the lady who makes me of good cheer, E-gula, E-ti-la, and E-zi-ba-ti-la, her three shrines, I built in Borsippa. For Ramman, who rains down showers of plenty upon my land, his temple I built artistically in Borsippa. For Sin, who burdens himself with my welfare, E-dim-an-na, his temple, I built with brilliancy on the wall round about Ezida.

Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel, the large walls of Babylon which Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, the father, my begetter, had made, but had not completed their construction—their moat he had dug, and by means of two strong walls with bitumen and burned brick he had strengthened their banks; a wall along the Arahtu canal he had made, and with the dike of burned brick on the other side of the Euphrates he had joined it, but had not completed the rest. From Du-azag-ki-nam-tar-tar-re-e-ne, the shrine of Fates, as far as A-ibur-shabu(m), the street of Babylon, in

front of the Gate of the Lady, I constructed a way with brick and tur-mi-na-tur-da stone as a procession street for the great lord Marduk. As for me, his first-born son, the beloved of his heart, Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel, the great walls of Babylon, I completed. The sides of the wall of its moat, two strong walls, with bitumen and burned brick I built, and to the wall which my father had strengthened I joined it, and I surrounded the city for its protection with a wall of burned brick toward the east, and I constructed a wall about Babylon. A-ibur-shabu(m), the street of Babylon, I filled in with a high terrace as a procession street for the great lord Marduk, and partly with brick and tur-mi-na-tur-da stone, partly with brick and stone from the mountain, A-ibur-shabu, from Bab-Ella (the shining gate) as far as Nana-sakipat-tebisha, I macadamized for a procession street of his divinity; I joined it to what my father had built, and I constructed the boulevard Nana-sakipat-tebisha.

The entrances of the city gates on both sides of Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel, on account of the filling in of the street of Babylon, had become too low, and I tore down these gates and at the water's edge I firmly laid their foundation with bitumen and burned brick, and with burned brick and brilliant ugnu-stone, out of which the wild-bulls and the serpents are constructed, skilfully I built them. I laid in rows mighty cedar trees for their roof. I set in place in their gates the cedar doors, with a sheathing of copper, the thresholds and the hinges, made of bronze. I stationed at their thresholds strong wild-bulls of bronze and serpents standing erect. I filled with splendour these city gates for the astonished gaze (of all people). That the shaft of battle might not reach Imgur-Bel, the wall of Babylon—what no former king had done—for four thousand land cubits on the sides of Babylon, afar off, to make approach impossible, I surrounded Babylon with a large wall toward the east. I dug its moat and strengthened its bank with bitumen and burned brick, and built a strong wall on its bank mountain-

high. Its wide city gates I put in position, and the doors of cedar, with a sheathing of copper, I set in place. That a terrible enemy might not push forward to the sides of Babylon, I surrounded the land with large bodies of water, like the volume of the sea; and that the plying (of ships) as on the raging sea or the briny gulf might not bring about a breach in their banks, I threw up against them a levee of mud, and surrounded them with a wall of burned brick. I skilfully strengthened the watch-tower, and made the city Babylon a fortification. Tabi-suburshu, the wall of Borsippa, I built anew; I dug its moat, and strengthened its bank with bitumen and burned brick.

Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon, whom Marduk, the great lord, called to look after the welfare of his city Babylon, am I. Esagila and Ezida I made as brilliant as the sun. The shrines of the great gods I made to shine like the day. In former times, in the days of old, down to the reign of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, the father, my begetter, the numerous kings, my predecessors, whose names the god had called to sovereignty, in their well-beloved cities which they loved, had built palaces, taken up their residences, collected their possessions therein, gathered together their property, and on the festival of Zagmuku, the procession of the lord of the gods, Marduk, had entered Babylon. From the time that Marduk created me to sovereignty, and Nabu, his eternal son, gave me rule over his subjects, like my precious soul I loved their shining presence. With the exception of Babylon and Borsippa I did not adorn a single city. In Babylon, my well-beloved city, which I love, the palace, a house for the astonished gaze of the people, a meeting-place for the land, a brilliant chamber, a royal residence, in Babylon which is in Babylonia, from Imgur-Bel as far as Libil-hegalla, the eastern canal, from the bank of the Euphrates as far as A-ibur-shabu—which Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, the father, my begetter, with brick had constructed, and wherein he had taken up his residence—on account of the waters of a flood its foundation had become weak, and on account of

the terracing of the street of Babylon, the gates of this palace had become too low. Its wall, made of brick, I tore down, and I sought out its platform foundation, and the bottom of the water I reached. Its foundation at the water's edge I firmly laid, and with bitumen and burned brick I raised it mountain-high. I laid in rows mighty cedar trees for its roof. I set in place in its gates the cedar doors, with a sheathing of copper, the thresholds and the hinges, made of bronze. I gathered together therein silver, gold, precious stones, all kinds of precious and valuable things, possessions, property, the insignia of my exalted position. I collected within it the results of my splendid bravery, a royal treasure. Because my heart did not love the abode of my royalty in another city, in no human habitation did I build a residence for my lordship. Property, the insignia of royalty, I did not establish anywhere else. In Babylon a chamber for my dwelling-place, as befitted my royalty, was not to be found. Because the fear of Marduk, my lord, was in my heart, in Babylon, his treasure city, in order to enlarge my royal residence, his street I did not change, his shrine I did not impair, his canal I did not dam up, his chamber I kept constantly (?) in mind.

That the shaft of battle might not reach Imgur-Bel, the wall of Babylon, at a distance of four hundred and ninety land cubits on the sides of Nimitti-Bel, the outer wall of Babylon, for the protection of the two large walls, with bitumen and burned brick I built a wall mountain-high, and between them I built a structure of burned brick, and I built very high in its tower a large chamber with bitumen and burned brick for my royal dwelling-place, and joined it to my father's palace, and in a prosperous month, on a favourable day, I firmly laid its foundation in the bowels of the earth, and I raised high its turrets like a mountain. On the fifteenth day I brought to completion its construction, and I beautified the dwelling of my lordship. Mighty cedar trees from the snow-capped mountains, ashuhu trees with broad trunks, and cypress trees, (with) costly stones,

I laid in rows for its roofing. Doors of palm-wood, of cedar, and of cypress, of ushu and ivory, inlaid with silver and gold, and with a sheathing of copper, the thresholds and hinges, made of bronze, I set in place in its gates. I surrounded its turrets with a cornice of ugnu-stone and threw around it mountain-high a strong wall with bitumen and burned brick. On the sides of the wall of Babylon I built a large wall out of large blocks of stone, such as are found on the lofty mountains, and like a mountain I raised on high its battlements. I built that house for the astonished gaze (of all people), and for the spectacle of the whole world I filled it with splendour. All kinds of abundance, the fear of the brilliancy of my royalty, were round about its sides, and that the wicked and the perverse might not enter it, and that I might keep afar off from the sides of the wall of Babylon the battle shaft of the terrible enemy, I fortified the city Babylon mountain-high. To Marduk, my lord, I made supplication, I lifted up my hands:

O Marduk, lord, leader of the gods,
Powerful prince,
Thou hast created me, and
With sovereignty over all men
Thou hast intrusted me.
Like my precious soul
I love thy exalted presence.
With the exception of thy city Babylon
In no human habitation
Have I adorned a city.
As I love
The fear of thy divinity,
As I follow in the path of thy lordship,
Look with favour upon the lifting up of my hands,
Give ear to my prayers.
Truly I am the king, the restorer,
Who makes cheerful thy heart,
The clever governor,
The restorer of all thy cities.

By thy command,
O merciful Marduk,
The temple which I have built,
May it endure for all time, and
May I be satisfied with its splendour!
In its midst
May I attain an old age,
May I be sated with offspring!
Of the kings of the four quarters of the world,
Of all mankind,
Their heavy tribute
May I receive therein!
From the horizon of the heaven to the zenith,
Toward the east,
May I have no enemies,
May I possess no foes,
May my descendants live therein
Forever, and
Rule over the Black-headed races!

THE WINCKLER INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II

NEBUCHADREZZAR, King of Babylon, the exalted prince, the favourite of Marduk, the lofty patesi, the beloved of Nabu, the legitimate shepherd, who enters upon the peaceful path of Shamash and Ramman, the wise, the circumspect, who is attentive to the wisdom of Nirra, the potentate, the knowing one, the judicious, who cares for the shrines of Zamama and Ishtar, the humble, the pliant, who is submissive to the will of Marduk, the great lord, and of Bel, who enlarges his dominion, and of Nabu, the lofty messenger, who prolongs the days of his life, and is their obedient servant, the untiring governor, the restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the * * * of restorations, who brings large gifts to Esagila, the exalted, the suppliant, the

choice of the loyal heart of the great gods, the grave ruler, the reclaimer of fields, who looks after the agricultural interests of Babylon, who fills the shrines with plenty, who establishes the daily offering, the chief son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I.

At the time that Marduk, the great lord, faithfully created me, and commanded me with pomp to lead aright the land, to shepherd the people, to restore the cities and to renew the shrines, I to Marduk, my lord, paid reverent obedience. In Esagila, the majestic shrine, the temple of heaven and earth, the dwelling-place of royalty, I decorated with shining gold E-kua, the shrine of the lord of the gods, Marduk, Bab-Hili-shud, the home of Çarpanit, (and) Ezida in Esagila, the shrine called "the king of the gods of heaven and earth," and I made (them) to shine like the day. E-temen-an-ki, the temple-tower of Babylon, I made anew. Ezida, the eternal house, beloved by Nabu, in Borsippa anew I built and made it bright as the starry heavens with gold and precious stones. Mighty cedar trees I decorated with gold, and for the roofing over of E-mah-tila, the shrine of Nabu * * * I laid in rows. E-mah, the Temple of Nin-mah, in Babylon; E-pad(?)-kalama-shumma, the Temple of Nabu-sha-hariri; E-gish-shir-gal, the Temple of Sin; E-har-sag-el-la, the Temple of Nin-karrak; E-nam-hi, the Temple of Ramman in Kumari; E-di-tar-kalama, the Temple of Shamash; E-ki-tur-garza, the Temple of Nin-lil-an-na by the side of the wall in Babylon, (these) anew I built, and their turrets I raised on high. The great gods who dwell therein I gave residence within them.

As for Babylon, the city of the great lord, Marduk, his renowned city, Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel, its great walls, I completed. At the entrances of its city-gates, I built and stationed strong wild-bulls of bronze, and serpents standing erect, and, what no former king had done—the father, my begetter, had thrown around the city the wall of its moat with bitumen and burned brick a second time—these mighty walls for the third time, the first (joined) with the second, I built with bitumen and burned brick, and joined

them to the wall which my father had constructed, and laid their foundation in the bosom of the broad earth, and raised their battlements mountain-high. An embankment of burned brick toward the east I threw around the wall of Babylon.

The embankment of the Arahtu toward the east, from the city-gate Ishtar to the city-gate Urash, the father, my begetter, had constructed with bitumen and burned brick, had bound to the fences (?) of burned brick along the Euphrates, but had not completed the rest. I, his eldest son, the beloved of his heart, built the embankment of the Arahtu with bitumen and burned brick, and strengthened it with the embankment which my father had constructed.

For the protection of Esagila and Babylon, that there might not be a breach in (the bank of) the Euphrates, I made with bitumen and burned brick a mighty dike in the river. I laid its foundation in the depths, and raised its battlements mountain-high. At four thousand cubits' distance, that the sides of the city might not be approached from afar—what no king before me had done—I threw around Babylon a mighty wall toward the east. Its moat I dug, and the bottom of the water I reached. I built its bank (?) with bitumen and burned brick, and joined it to the embankment which my father had constructed, and built along its bank a mighty wall with bitumen and burned brick mountain-high.

Tabi-subursbu, the wall of Borsippa, I made anew. The wall of its moat with bitumen and burned brick I threw around the city for protection. For Tur-e, the lord who breaks in pieces the weapons of my enemies, his temple in Borsippa anew I made. For Gula, rich in life, who preserves my life, who dwells in E-ti-la, E-ti-la, her temple, I built anew in Borsippa. For Gula, the exalted princess, who extends the fame of my kingdom, who dwells in E-gula, E-gula, her temple, I built anew in Borsippa. For Gula, the great lady, who gives life to my soul, who dwells in E-zi-ba-ti-la, E-zi-ba-ti-la, her temple, I built anew in Borsippa. To strengthen the defence of E-shid-lam, a wall

round about E-shid-lam I built anew, and the buildings thereof * * * as of old. The wall of the moat of Kutha with bitumen and burned brick I threw around the city for protection. E-babbara, the Temple of Shamash in Sippar; E-tur-gina, the Temple of Shar-çarbi (?) in Baz; E-i-de-A-nim, the Temple of Urash in Dilbat; E-shi-kalama, the Temple of Lugal-Maradda in Maradda; E-an-na, the Temple of Ishtar in Erech; E-babbara, the Temple of Shamash in Larsa; E-gish-shir-gal, the Temple of Sin in Ur—these shrines of the great gods anew I built, and brought their construction to completion. The great gods who dwell therein with joy and rejoicing I gave residence within them.

The restorations of Esagila and Ezida, and the renovation of Babylon and Borsippa, which I had carried on to a further extent than ever before, I brought to the highest stage of completion. The restoring of the shrines of the great gods, which I had performed more splendidly than the kings, my fathers, all my extensive undertakings, I inscribed on a tablet, and put away for all time to come. All my undertakings, which I inscribed on the tablet, may the wise consider, and may they bethink themselves of the majesty due to the god! The building of the cities for gods and goddesses, with which the great lord, Marduk, had charged me, and to which he had incited my heart, reverently I did not cease until I finished their construction.

At that time E-ul-la, the Temple of Nin-karrak, in Sippar—which from time immemorial and for years long gone by had not been kept in order, whose walls had fallen into decay, and whose site was no longer recognisable, being covered with earth—was not reckoned among the shrines of the gods; its revenues had been withheld because they had not been arranged for; its free-will offerings had ceased. Because I seized the garment of Marduk, my lord, Marduk, my lord, loved me and intrusted me with the renewing of shrines and the rebuilding of ruins. Because of my faithful reign, Marduk, the merciful one, bestowed favour upon that temple, and Shamash, the lofty judge, commanded its renovation. Me, the shepherd who fears

them, they gave orders to rebuild it. I sought and searched out its ancient platform foundation; the mention of the name of "Nin-karrak who dwells in E-ul-la" was written on it and was found therein. Upon its ancient platform foundation I laid its foundation, and for Nin-karrak, the mistress who loves me and who protects my life and grants safety to my descendants, E-ul-la, her temple, I built anew in Sippar. I made its revenues to abound, and established its free-will offerings.

O Nin-karrak, lofty mistress,
Look with favour upon the work of my hands, and
May grace toward me be established upon thy lips!
A long life, abundance of offspring,
Health and happiness,
As a boon do thou grant me!
Before Shamash and Marduk,
Look with favour upon my works, command that
I receive favour!

THE GROTEFEND INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II

NEBUCHADREZZAR, the just king, the faithful shepherd, who directs mankind, who rules over the subjects of Bel, Shamash, and Marduk, the arbiter, the possessor of wisdom, who cares for life, the lofty one, the untiring one, the maintainer of Esagila and Ezida, the son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I.

At the time that Marduk, the great lord, raised me to the lordship of the land, and committed to my keeping the numerous peoples, reverently I bowed down before Marduk, the god who created me, to bear his yoke I bowed my neck. More than ever before I increased his rich temple-dues and his pure free-will offerings. Each day an ox, clean, fat, and perfect * * * goodly sacrifices, a gift to the gods of Esagila and the gods of Babylon, fish, birds,

garlic, pilu, the product of the marsh land, honey, curds, milk, goodly oil, sesame wine, mead, strong drink from the mountains, clear wine, wine from the mountains of Izalla, Tu'immu, Çimmini, Hilbuni, Aranabani, Suham, Bit-kubati, and Bitati, I furnished in abundance like the water of the river, beyond reckoning, to the table of Marduk and the table of Zarpanit, my lords. I adorned the shrine, the dwelling-place of his lordship, like a wall, with shining gold. I overlaid the gate Kuzbu-rapshu with gold, and I richly adorned the temple for Çarpanit, my mistress. Ezida, the dwelling-place of the god, the king of the gods of heaven and earth; the shrine of Nabu in Esagila, its threshold, its bars, and its lock (?) I overlaid with gold, and made the temple shine like the day. With joy and rejoicing I built E-temen-an-ki, the temple-tower of Babylon.

I brought to completion Imgur-Bel, the great wall of Babylon, the city of the great lord Marduk. At the thresholds of the city-gates I stationed strong wild-bulls of bronze, and serpents standing erect. I dug its moat and reached the bottom of the water. I built its bank with bitumen and burned brick. I had the bulwark (?) at the bank of the mighty wall built with bitumen and burned brick, like a mountain, so that it could not be moved.

In order to strengthen the watch-tower of Esagila, that the enemy and the destroyer might not approach Babylon, I threw around the city on the outer wall of Babylon a strong wall toward the east. I dug its moat and raised its bank with bitumen and burned brick mountain-high. By the side of Babylon I constructed a dike of great masses of earth, and surrounded it with a mighty stream of many waters like the fulness of the sea, and then I threw a swamp around this. To * * * the life of the people of Babylon * * * among the cities of Sumer and Akkad I made its name great.

Ezida, the eternal house, I built anew in Borsippa, and I decorated the cedar-wood of its roof with shining gold. I adorned its structure with gold, silver, precious stones, bronze, palm-wood, and cedar-wood. With joy and re-

joicing I made Nabu and Nana to take up a residence therein well-pleasing to them. Each day, with an ox, clean, fat, and perfect, sixteen fat offerings (?), a gift to the gods of Borsippa, presents (?) of fish, birds, garlic, pilu, the product of the marsh land, mead, serash, sesame wine, strong drink from the mountains, clear wine, honey, curds, milk, and goodly oil, I weighed down more than ever before the table of Nabu and Nana, my lords.

I set apart six sheep each day as a stated offering for Nergal and Laz, the gods of E-shidlam and Kutha. The temple-dues of the great gods I enlarged (?), and increased the former stated offerings.

I built anew E-babbara in Sippar for Shamash and A-a, my lords. I built anew E-babbara in Larsa for Shamash and A-a, my lords. I built anew E-gish-shir-gal in Ur for Sin, the lord, the beloved of my royalty. I built anew E-ide-kalama in Dilbat for Urash, my lord. I built anew E-tur-gina in Baz for Bel-çarbi, my lord.

The former dues and the ancient rites of Nana, the brilliant mistress of Uruk, I reinstated. To Uruk I returned its protecting-deity, and to E-anna its gracious bull-colossus. I searched for and sought out its ancient platform-foundation, and upon its ancient platform-foundation I laid its foundation.

Nebuchadrezzar, the lofty priest-king, the restorer of the cities of the great gods, am I. To Esagila and Ezida have I remained faithful. I have continually sought out the shrines of Nabu and Marduk, my lords. On their holy festival, their great feast of the new year, I came into their presence with oxen, clean, strong, and perfect, goodly sacrifices, young lambs, garlic, pilu, fish, birds, the product of the marsh land, with measures of serash, beyond reckoning, like water, and wine, each year in plenty and abundance.

The numerous peoples, the rule of which Marduk had given into my hands, I made submissive to Babylon, and I received therein the income of the lands, the product of the mountains, and the riches of the seas. Under its enduring protection I gathered together all mankind in com-

fort, and stored up there great heaps of grain beyond reckoning.

At that time I built anew in Babylon the palace, the seat of my royalty, the meeting-place for many peoples, a dwelling-place of joy and rejoicing, where the defeated must do homage; I laid its platform-foundation in virgin soil, in the bosom of the deep earth, with bitumen and burned brick; from Lebanon, the snow-capped forest, I brought mighty cedar trees for its roof; I threw around it a mighty wall of bitumen and burned brick, and therein I issued royal edicts and lordly decrees. I lifted up my hands, I prayed to the lord of lords; to Marduk, the merciful, my petitions ascended:

O lord of countries! Marduk!
Hearken unto the word of my mouth!
May I enjoy the splendour of the house which I
have built!
May I attain therein,
In Babylon, old age!
May I be sated with offspring!
May I receive therein
The heavy tribute
Of the kings of the four quarters of the world,
Of all mankind!
May my descendants
Rule therein
Forever
Over the Black-headed races!

THE BORSIPPA INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II

NEBUCHADREZZAR, King of Babylon, the faithful shepherd, the choice of Marduk's loyal heart, the noble priest-king, the beloved of Nabu, the knowing, the wise, whose ear is attentive to the affairs of the great gods, the un-

tiring governor, the restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the chief son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I.

At the time that Marduk, the great lord, faithfully created me, and commissioned me to make his restorations, Nabu, the ruler of the hosts of heaven and earth, gave into my hands a righteous sceptre. Esagila, the temple of heaven and earth, the dwelling-place of the lord of the gods Marduk, and E-kua, his shrine, I adorned with shining gold like a wall. Ezida I built anew, and with silver, gold, precious stones, bronze, palm-wood, cedar-wood I completed its construction. E-temen-an-ki, the temple-tower of Babylon, I built and completed, and with burned brick and shining ugnu-stone I raised on high its turrets.

At that time E-ur-VII-an-ki, the temple-tower of Borsippa, which a former king had built and raised to a height of forty-two cubits without adding its turrets—from time immemorial it had been in ruins, its drainage had been out of repair, rain and bad weather had disintegrated its unburned brickwork, the tile work of its roof had become cracked, and the unburned brickwork of its interior was poured out into a mound—to rebuild it the great lord, Marduk, incited my heart. I did not change its site, nor did I alter its platform-foundation. In a prosperous month, on a favourable day, the unburned brickwork of its interior, and the tile work of its roof, which were in ruins, I repaired, and I restored it from its condition of ruin, and I placed an inscription with my name in the corners (?) of its stories. To rebuild it and to raise on high its towers I lifted up my hands:

O Nabu, eternal son, exalted messenger,
Victorious, beloved of Marduk,
Do thou look
With favour and joy upon my works, and
A long life, abundance of offspring,
A firm throne, an enduring reign, the overthrow of my foes,

The conquering of the land of the enemy as a boon do thou
grant me!
On thy eternal tablet which defines the boundaries
Of heaven and earth,
Do thou proclaim the length of my days, do thou write
my offspring!
In the presence of Marduk, the king of heaven and earth,
The father, my begetter, look with favour upon my works,
Command that I receive favour!
May Nebuchadrezzar,
The king, the restorer,
Be ever established in thy mouth!

THE BABYLON INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II

NEBUCHADREZZAR, King of Babylon, the lofty prince, the choice of Marduk's loyal heart, the faithful shepherd, the patron of the shrines of Nabu, who delights their hearts, the exalted priest-king, who ponders daily concerning the maintenance of Esagila and Ezida, and is continually anxious for the shrines of Babylon and Borsippa, the wise, the pious, the maintainer of Esagila and Ezida, the chief son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I.

From the time that Marduk, the great lord, my creator, faithfully created me, and gave into my charge with pomp the shrines of his city Babylon, I did not cease to be faithful to Marduk, my lord. Daily and unceasingly I meditated in my heart that which was pleasing to him. With silver, gold, costly precious stones, bronze, palm-wood, cedar-wood, all kinds of precious and valuable things, without stint I readorned Esagila and made it brilliant like the sun. I completed Ezida, and made it as bright as the starry heavens.

Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel, the great walls of Babylon, I set in order, and I built the wall of its moat mountain-

high with bitumen and burned brick, and threw it around the city for protection. Strong wild-bulls of bronze and serpents standing erect I stationed in its city-gates, and I beautified Babylon for the astonished gaze (of all people). I cared for the protection of Esagila and Babylon. In the upper * * * of the city-gate Ishtar, from the bank of the Euphrates up to the city-gate, for the protection of the sides of the city I built with bitumen and burned brick a mighty citadel, and I laid its foundation at the water's edge in the depth of the clear water. I raised its turrets mountain-high, and skilfully strengthened the watch-tower, and thus protected Babylon.

O Marduk, great lord,
Upon the work of my hands
Look with grace and favour, and
May my gracious deeds be established on thy lips!
By thy pure word, which is unchangeable,
Proclaim that my days be long,
Command that I have offspring!
By thy exalted command, which can not be thwarted,
May I have no enemy, may I possess no foe!

THE SENKEREH INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II

NEBUCHADREZZAR, King of Babylon, the humble, the suppliant, the pious, the worshipper of the lord of lords, the restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the legitimate son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I.

At the time that Marduk, the great lord, the chief of the gods, the mighty leader, appointed me to rule over land and people—at that time E-babbara, the Temple of Shamash in Larsa, which from time immemorial had been like a heap of ruins, in whose interior the mud-walls had disintegrated and the outer walls were no longer recognisable—in my reign the great lord, Marduk, gave his patronage to that

temple. He made the winds to blow, and carried away the deposit of its interior so that the outer walls could be seen. Me, Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon, his governor and his worshipper, he commanded with pomp to rebuild that house. Its ancient platform-foundation I sought and searched out, and I spread fresh mortar (dirt) upon its ancient platform-foundation, and set in place its unburned brickwork. E-babbara, the eternal temple, the dwelling-place of Shamash, my lord, I rebuilt to Shamash, the great lord, my lord, who dwells in E-babbara, which is in Larsa.

O Shamash, great lord,
When thou makest thy entrance
Into E-babbara, the dwelling-place of thy lordship,
With joy and rejoicing,
Upon the gracious work of my hands
Do thou look with favour, and
May a life of many days,
A firm throne, and
An enduring reign
Be established on thy lips!
May the thresholds, bolts, and hinges of the doors
Of E-babbara
Ever
Recall to thee
My gracious deeds!

THE CANAL INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II

NEBUCHADREZZAR, King of Babylon, the humble, the pious, the worshipper of the great gods, the exalted patesi, the restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I.

I sought out the site of Libil-hegalla, the eastern canal of Babylon, which had been in ruins from time immemorial, and was choked up with sand-bars and full of débris, and

from the bank of the Euphrates as far as A-ibur-shabu(m) I rebuilt with bitumen and burned brick its side walls. In A-ibur-shabu(m), the street of Babylon, for a procession street of the great lord, Marduk, I constructed a bridge over the canal, and made its roadway broad.

O Marduk, great lord,
Continuously
Look with favour upon me, and
A long life,
Abundance of offspring,
A firm throne,
And an enduring
Reign
As a boon
Do thou grant me!

THE NEW YORK INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADREZZAR II

NEBUCHADREZZAR, the righteous king, the humble, the pious, who knows reverence for the gods, who loves equity and righteousness, who cares for life, who places reverence for the great gods in the mouth of men, who puts in order the shrine of the gods, the maintainer of Esagila and Ezida, the legitimate son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I.

At the time that Marduk, the great lord, raised me to the lordship of the land, and summoned me with an exalted name to the restoration of the city and the renovation of his shrines, E-babbara, the Temple of Shamash, which is in Sippar, which long before me had fallen into decay, was then like a heap of ruins, and Shamash, the great lord, did not favour any former king, and so did not give orders to rebuild it. As for me, his servant, the wise, the suppliant, who reverences his divinity, my heart pondered concerning the rebuilding of the shrine, I awaited (?) the sun,

I lifted up my hands, I prayed to the sun, concerning the rebuilding of E-babbara I made supplication, thus:

O Shamash, great lord,
Accept the lifting up of my hands,
Hearken unto my prayer!

Concerning the rebuilding of that temple, I inquired of every oracle (?) of Shamash, Ramman, and Marduk, and Shamash, Ramman, and Marduk granted sure favour to my undertaking concerning the rebuilding of the Temple of E-babbara. For Shamash, the lord, the exalted judge of heaven and earth, the great warrior, the worthy hero, the lord who dictates righteous decisions, the great lord, my lord, his temple, E-babbara, which is in Sippar, I built with joy and rejoicing.

O Shamash, great lord,
When thou joyfully enterest E-babbara, thy shining temple,
Ever look with favour upon the costly undertaking of my hand!
May my gracious deeds be established on thy lips!
By thy sure command
May I be sated with offspring!
A long life and
A firm throne do thou grant me!
May my sway be long and
Extend forever!
Adorn my kingdom
Forever
With a righteous sceptre,
With goodly rule, and
With a staff of justice,
For the welfare of my people!
Protect my people
With strong weapons and
With the onslaught of battle!
Do thou, O Shamash,
Truly answer me

In judgment and in dream!
At thy noble command,
Which can not be altered,
May my weapons be drawn,
May they wound,
May they overthrow the weapons of the enemies!

INSCRIPTION FROM THE FOUR CLAY CYLINDERS OF NABONIDUS, KING OF BABYLON (555–538 B. C.)

MENTIONING BELSHAZZAR, THE KING'S SON

Found at the corners of the Temple of Sin at Mugheir

NABONIDUS, King of Babylon, patron of Esagila and Ezida, who fears the great gods, am I.

As for E-lugal-(?)-si-di, the temple tower of E-gish-shir-gal, which is in Ur, which Ur-uk, a former king, had built, but had not completed—Dun-gi, his son, completed its construction. From the inscriptions of Ur-uk and Dun-gi, his son, I learned that Ur-uk had built this temple-tower, without completing it, and that Dun-gi, his son, had completed its construction. This temple-tower was now old, and upon the old platform-foundation which Ur-uk and Dun-gi, his son, had built, I undertook the reconstruction of this temple-tower, as of old, with bitumen and burned brick, and for Sin, the lord of the gods of heaven and earth, the king of the gods, the god of gods, who inhabit the great heavens, the lord of E-gish-shir-gal, which is in Ur, my lord, I founded and built (it).

O Sin, lord of the gods, king of the gods of heaven and earth, the god of gods, who inhabit the great heavens, upon thy joyful entrance into that temple may the good done to Esagila, Ezida (and) E-gish-shir-gal, the temples of thy great divinity, be established on thy lips!

And do thou implant the fear of thy great divinity in the heart of its people, that they may not sin against thy

great divinity, (and) like the heavens may their foundations stand fast!

As for me, Nabonidus, King of Babylon, save me from sinning against thy great divinity!

A life of far-distant days grant me as a present!

And as regards Belshazzar, the first-born son, my offspring, do thou implant in his heart the fear of thy great divinity!

May he not fall into sin!

May he be satisfied with fulness of life!

THE STELE OF NABONIDUS

* * * he planned (?) evil * * * his heart planned (?) rebellion. He did not grant (?) forgiveness, evil * * * Against Babylon [he went?]. He laid in ruins its temples, destroyed the reliefs, overturned the shrines (?); he took the hand of the Prince Marduk, and brought (him) to Asshur. He treated the land according to the measure of the wrath of the god. The Prince Marduk did not relax his anger. For twenty-one years he made his dwelling-place in Asshur.

The days were fulfilled, the appointed time came; then was his wrath appeased which the king of the gods, the lord of lords, had planned against Esagila and Babylon, the dwelling-place of his lordship.

As for the King of Assyria, who, on account of the wrath of Marduk, had brought about the destruction of the land, his own son killed him with a sword.

* * * a helper he gave him, and he furnished him with an ally. The king of the Umman-manda, who was without a rival, he made obedient to his command, and brought to his help. Above and below, right and left, like a cyclone he laid waste (the land); he avenged Babylon, he multiplied vengeance. The king of the Umman-manda, the fearless, ruined the temples of the gods of As-

syria—all of them; and the cities on the border of Akkad, which were hostile to the King of Akkad, and had not come to his help, he ruined, and of their sanctuaries he did not leave one. He laid waste their cities more than was necessary, like a cyclone. The work of Marduk, which (consisted in) plundering, grieved the King of Babylon. He did not put his hands to the shrines (?) of the gods—any of them. He prospered and did not lie down on a bed * * * their gods * * * whose name Marduk had called to people the cities of the gods, which had been destroyed; who established with his hands the ruined mounds, the temples of the gods.

Nana of Uruk, the lofty princess, who dwells in a house of gold, who puts seven lions to harness, whose power during the reign of Erba-Marduk, the king, the Uruk-kæans had crushed, whose house they had torn down and whose set of lions they had turned loose, went forth from E-an-na in wrath, and resided (in a place which was) not her residence. A deity, who did not belong in E-an-na, they permitted to reside in her shrine. He brought Ishtar to her rights, restored her to her house, put to harness for her the seven lions, the mark of her divinity. The Ishtar, who did not belong here, he brought forth from E-an-na, and the goddess Nana, he restored to E-an-na, to her shrine.

Ishtar, the mistress of Elam, the princess, who dwells in Susa * * * dwelling in * * * which is in * * * which, from time immemorial, no one had seen, of gish-shir-gal stone, which is as bright as day, and pure gold he restored her residence. Anunit, who dwells in Sippar of Anunit, whose residence an enemy had changed some time before to Arrapha, and whose shrine the Gutæans had ruined, Neriglassar renewed, and he furnished her with a divinity-gown. Her house was in ruins. In Sippar of Am-na-nu he permitted her to take up her residence, and he re-established her offerings.

When the days were fulfilled and he had gone the way of fate, Labashi-Marduk, his younger son, who knew not

how to rule, took his seat against the will of the gods upon the royal throne, and * * * to the palace (?) they brought me, and all of them threw themselves at my feet and kissed them, doing homage to my royal rule. By command of Marduk, my lord, I was raised to the rule over the land, while they cried out, "Father of the land! He has no equal!"

I am the mighty legate of Nebuchadrezzar and Neriglassar, the kings, my predecessors. Their troops were intrusted to my hands. I do not sin against their bidding, and I make glad their hearts. Evil-Merodach, the son of Nebuchadrezzar, and Labashi-Marduk, the son of Neriglassar * * * they broke their commands * * * I prayed to them touching the approach (?) of the great star, and Sin. While I still communed with myself, the noble lord stood at my side, and spoke to me as follows: "The approach (?) betokens no evil." In that dream Nebuchadrezzar, the former king, and the lord, the minister, stood on a chariot. The minister spoke to Nebuchadrezzar as follows: "Speak with Nabonidus, and he will interpret for thee the dream which he saw." Nebuchadrezzar gave ear to him and spoke with me as follows: "Tell me what of good omen thou didst see." I was afraid of him, and I spoke to him as follows: "In my dream I saw a great star, Sin and Marduk, in the midst of the high heavens—auspiciously." He addressed me by name * * * Venus, Saturn * * * Jupiter, a star * * * great, dwelling in the heavens, I made (?). Great (?) I made them. For a long life, a firm throne, an enduring reign, favour (shown to) my words before Marduk, my lord, I prayed to them. I lay down and in the middle of the night I saw Bau (Gula), my mistress, who makes the dead to live, (and) who gives long life. For eternal life for my soul, that she would turn her face in favour, I prayed to her. She turned her face in favour, and with her shining countenance she looked on me with interest, and granted (me) mercy. Into E-sha-pa-kalama-shum-ma I entered, and before Nabu, who makes my reign long, and who has intrusted me

with a righteous sceptre, and with a firm staff which enlarges the country, I sought out the seat of Tashmet, the goddess Gula, who grants life, and she granted (?) (me) a long life (and) the overthrow of kings. Before Marduk, my lord, she looked with favour on my words.

Marduk, my lord, was appeased (?) with reverence. I magnified (him) and with petition and prayer I sought out his seat and I read his prayers. I told him the words of my heart, as follows: I am the king, the favourite (?) of thy heart (?). While the kingdom is in my heart (= is my chief concern) do not make me too proud (?) to know thee, since thou, O lord of lords, hast intrusted me with more than other kings, whom thou hast called. While I exercise authority, prolong my days, let my years continue indefinitely, and let me carry out the restoration * * * divinity * * * precious stones and gold to make his appearance brilliant; for Ea, my lord, who enlarges my dominion; Nabu, who rules the hosts of heaven and earth, who prolongs the days of my life; Tashmet, the mistress, who protects my life, for a gown of their great divinity I made splendid with great zeal. For Ea, my lord, a chair of pure gold, which no former king had made, as in days of old I made, and in E-kar-za-gin-na in his chamber I placed (it) for his seat.

The king, who held constantly in mind, every day, without fail, the maintenance of Esagila and Ezida, am I.

The doors of wood which are in the rooms of the temple of the gods of heaven and earth, the house of the decision of Marduk and Çarpanit, and the doorways of E-ki (?) on both sides of the Temple of E-mah, and the ten (?) gates of the goddess, my mistress, for the procession of Çarpanit, beloved of Marduk, who lays firm the foundation (?) of my royal throne, I overlaid with bright silver. The gate of Gula, the gate of E-mah, whose doors for decoration (?) were made of wood, the splendid doors, their doorways I constructed anew of cedar, inlaid them with eshmaru-metal, made them as brilliant as the day, made them to appear as if covered with their original decorations, for the procession

of Bau I set them in place. Serpents of bronze, which are on the side walls of E-mah, and * * * who maintains, who brings large gifts to the great gods, am I.

In the month Nisan, on the tenth day, when the king of the gods, Marduk, and the gods of heaven and earth take up their dwelling in E-sigisshe-sigisshe, the house of prayer, the house of the festival of the god, the lord of truth, one hundred talents, twenty-one manas of silver, five talents, seventeen manas of gold to the offerings of every year which from the tribute-presents (?), from the fulness of the land, all the riches of the mountains, the income from all settlements, the treasures (?) of the kings, the rich possessions, which Prince Marduk had intrusted to me, to Bel, Nabu, and Nergal, the great gods, who love my reign, who protect my life forever, offerings, such as their hearts desired, I brought before them. Twenty-seven hundred and fifty of the soldiers * * * (?) (?) which Marduk, the lord, had given to me in larger numbers than to the kings my predecessors, and which he had intrusted to me, as guards of the shrine (?), I presented to Bel, Nabu, and Nergal, my gods, who go at my side.

After I had celebrated the festival of bit-akitu I caused Bel and the son of Bel to reside in their splendid residence. I brought into the large cities magnificent presents to give (them) to Bel and Nergal. I went to Uruk, Larsa, and Ur, and I brought silver, gold (and) precious stones into the presence of Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar. The oracle of the goddess HAR in (?) the city of Ishtar in my march (?) * * * sacrifices without blemish * * * their (?) foundation. They did not reside in their residence. Marduk, my lord, waited on me and he intrusted to my hands the repairs of the shrines of the gods; (and) with his illustrious command, he ordered (as the work) of my reign the reconciliation of the gods, who were enraged, (and) the rehabiting of their residences. In Harran, E-hul-hul, which had been in ruins fifty-four years, on account of the destructive raid of the Umman-manda, who had laid waste the temples—fifty-four years were declared (?) to him by the

gods as the time of reconciliation when Sin should return to his seat.

Now that he was to return to his seat, Sin, the lord of the moon disk, was mindful of his exalted residence, and the gods, as many as had gone forth with him from his shrine, Marduk, the king of the gods, gave orders to assemble. The * * * (?) of precious ashpu-stone, the royal stone, with which Ashurbanipal, the King of Assyria, had decorated the statue of Sin for a memorial of his name, and had built thereon (the majestic position of Sin on the * * * he had described) and had placed it on the neck of Sin—since, in days gone by, its figure had been damaged (?) through a destructive raid of an enemy, in order that his omens might not come into disuse in Esagila, the house, which protects the life of the great gods * * *

[Column XI is omitted because of the many difficult passages which can not be satisfactorily explained.]

INSCRIPTION ON A CLAY CYLINDER OF NABONIDUS

I, NABONIDUS, the great king, the powerful king, the king of the world, the King of Babylon, the king of the four quarters of the world, the patron of Esagila and Ezida, whose destiny Sin and Ningal, while he was yet in the womb of his mother, determined as a royal destiny, the son of Nabu-balatsu-iqbi, the wise prince, who worships the great gods, am I.

E-hul-hul, the Temple of Sin, which is in Harran, in which, from time immemorial, Sin, the great lord, had made a residence well-pleasing to him—against that city and temple his heart became angered, and he brought the Scythians to attack it, and he destroyed that temple and brought it to ruin.

In my legitimate reign, Bel, the great lord, through love for my kingdom, was gracious, and showed mercy to

that city and temple. In the beginning of my everlasting reign he made me to see a vision. Marduk, the great lord, and Sin, the light of heaven and earth, stood on either side. Marduk spake with me: "Nabonidus, King of Babylon, haul bricks with thy wagon-horses, rebuild E-hul-hul, and make Sin, the great lord, to take up his residence therein." Reverently I spake unto the lord of the gods, Marduk: "The Scythians have encompassed that house, which thou didst command to rebuild, and their forces are mighty." But Marduk spake with me: "The Scythians of whom thou hast spoken—they, their country, and the kings who marched with them are no more." On the approach of the third year they instigated Cyrus, King of Anzan, his petty vassal, to attack them, and with his few troops he routed the numerous Scythians. He seized Astyages, King of the Scythians, and took him as a captive to his own country. (It was) the word of the great lord, Marduk, and Sin, the light of heaven and earth, whose command can not be annulled. At their illustrious command I was afraid; I became anxious and alarmed, and I was much troubled. I did not tarry, I did not draw back, I took no rest; I put my numerous troops on the march from Gaza, on the border of the land of Egypt, from the Upper Sea beyond the Euphrates to the Lower Sea, the kings, princes, governors, and my numerous troops, which Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar, my lords, had intrusted to me, to rebuild E-hul-hul, the Temple of Sin, my lord, who walks at my side, which is in Harran, and which Ashurbanipal, the King of Assyria, the son of Esarhaddon, the King of Assyria, a prince, my predecessor, had built. In a favourable month, on an auspicious day, revealed to me by Shamash and Ramman in a vision, with the wisdom of Ea and Marduk, with incantations, with the co-operation of the Brick-god, the lord of foundations and brick, with silver, gold, and precious stones, products of the forest, sweet-smelling cedars, amid joy and rejoicing, I laid its foundation and raised its brick-work on the platform-foundation of Ashurbanipal, the King of Assyria, who had found the platform-foundation of Shalmaneser, the

son of Ashurnaçirpal. I poured date-wine, wine, oil, and honey over its walls, and I sprinkled its wood-work (?) therewith. I made its parts stronger and its construction more artistic than did the kings, my forefathers. I built that temple anew from its platform-foundation to its roof, and I completed its construction. I laid in rows upon it (as a roof) long cedar poles, the product of the Amanus; I set up in its doorways doors of cedar, whose odour was good; I overlaid its brick-work with silver and gold and I made it to shine like the sun. I stationed in its building as a present a wild bull of bright zahalu-metal, which forces back my foes. I placed two Lahmus of eshmaru, which overthrow my enemies, on the right and left in the Eastern Gate. I took the hands of Sin, Ningal, Nusku, and Sadarnunna, my lords, from Babylon, my royal city, and with joy and rejoicing I made them take up a residence therein well-pleasing to them. I offered large, clean sacrifices in their presence, and brought forward my presents. I brought the ancient E-hul-hul and the entire city of Harran to a state of perfection, and I made it to shine with the brilliancy of the New Moon.

O Sin, king of the gods of heaven and earth, who from time immemorial hast not resided in city or country, nor hast returned to his original seat, when thou enterest E-hul-hul, the temple, thy luxurious dwelling, may the good done to the city and that temple be on thy lips!

May the gods, who dwell in heaven and earth, grant blessing to the Temple of Sin, their father and begetter!

May Sin, the king of the gods of heaven and earth, with gracious eyes uplifted, look with joy upon me, Nabonidus, King of Babylon, who has brought his temple to completion, and may he give me favourable signs monthly at the rising and setting!

May he lengthen my days, prolong my years, and establish my reign!

May he vanquish my enemies, overthrow my adversaries, and overwhelm my foes!

May Ningal, the mother of the great gods, make kindly mention of me in the presence of Sin, her beloved!

May Shamash and Ishtar, his brilliant offspring, make gracious reference to me before Sin, their father and begetter!

May Nusku, the exalted minister, hear my prayers and make intercession for me!

I found the inscription, written in the name of Ashurbanipal, the King of Assyria, and I did not alter it. I anointed it with oil, offered sacrifices, placed it with my inscription, and restored it to its place.

For Shamash, the judge of heaven and earth, E-babbara, his temple which is in Sippara, which Nebuchadrezzar, a former king, had rebuilt, after searching for its platform-foundation without finding it—that house he rebuilt, but in forty-five years its walls had fallen in. I became anxious and humble; I was alarmed and much troubled. When I had brought out Shamash from within it and made him take residence in another house, I pulled that house down and made search for its old platform-foundation; and I dug to a depth of eighteen cubits, and Shamash, the great lord of E-babbara, the temple, the dwelling well-pleasing to him, permitted me to behold the platform-foundation of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon, which, during a period of thirty-two hundred years, no king among my predecessors had seen. In the month Tishrit, in a favourable month, on an auspicious day, revealed to me by Shamash and Ramman in a vision, with silver, gold, costly and precious stones, products of the forest, sweet-smelling cedars, amid joy and rejoicing, I raised its brick-work—not an inch inward or outward—upon the platform-foundation of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon. I laid in rows five thousand large cedars for its roof; I set up in its doorways high doors of cedar, thresholds and hinges (?). I built E-babbara, with its temple-tower E-ilu-an-azagga anew and I completed its construction. I took the hands of Shamash, my lord, and with joy and rejoicing I made him

take up a residence therein well-pleasing to him. I found the inscription, written in the name of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon, and I did not alter it. I anointed it with oil, offered sacrifices, placed it with my inscription, and restored it to its place.

O Shamash, great lord of heaven and earth, light of the gods, his fathers, offspring of Sin and Ningal, when thou enterest E-babbara, thy beloved temple, when thou takest residence in thy eternal shrine, look with joy upon me, Nabonidus—King of Babylon, the prince, thy supporter, who hath gladdened thy heart and built thy lofty dwelling-place—and my gracious works!

Give me favourable signs daily at the rising and setting (of the sun) in the heavens and on earth!

Receive my supplications and grant favour to my petitions!

May I hold the legitimate sceptre and staff, which thou hast intrusted to me, forever and ever!

For Anunit, the mistress of battle, who beareth bow and quiver, who executeth the commands of Bel, her father, who overwhelmeth the enemy, who destroyeth the wicked, who marcheth before the gods, who giveth me favourable signs at the rising and setting of the sun—for the old platform-foundation of E-ul-bar, her temple, which is in Sippara of Anunit (which for eight hundred years since the time of Shagashaltiburiash, King of Babylon, son of Kudur-Bel, no king had rebuilt), I made excavations and I discovered it. I found it and I laid its foundation and raised its brick-work upon the platform-foundation of Shagashaltiburiash, the son of Kudur-Bel. I built that temple anew, and I completed its construction. Anunit, the mistress of battle, who executeth the commands of Bel, who overwhelmeth the enemy, who destroyeth the wicked, who marcheth before the gods, I made to take residence therein. I made the stated and free-will offerings larger than before, and I set them before her.

Do thou, O Anunit, great mistress, when thou enterest with joy into this temple, look with joy upon my gracious

works, and every month at sunrise and sunset do thou bring to Sin, thy father and begetter, my loyal homage!

Whosoever thou art whom Sin and Shamash shall name to the kingdom, and in whose reign this temple may fall into decay and he may rebuild it—may he see the inscription written in my name, and may he not alter it!

May he anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, place it with the inscription written in his name, and restore it to its place!

May Shamash and Anunit hear his prayer, look with favour on his commands, and march at his side!

May they overthrow his foes!

May they make gracious reference to him daily before Sin, their father and begetter!

THE ANNALS OF NABONIDUS

[Two columns of the inscription, and parts of another, are too much mutilated for translation.]

[His troops] he collected, and he marched against Cyrus, King of Anshan, to conquer him * * *
The troops of Astyages rebelled against him, and, taking him prisoner, they handed him over to Cyrus.
Cyrus (went) to Ecbatana, the royal city. The silver, gold, possessions, property * * *
of Ecbatana they carried away as spoil, and he brought (it) to Anshan. The possessions (and) property * * *
7th year. The king in Tema; the son of the king, the nobles, and his soldiers in Akkad. [The king for Nisan]
did not come to Babylon. Nabu did not come to Babylon; Bel was not brought forth, and the akitu-festival [was not celebrated].
They offered (gavê) sacrifices in Esagila and Ezida to the gods of Babylon and Borsippa, as is [right]; the urigal poured out libations and guarded the house.
8th year.

9th year. Nabonidus, the king, in Tema; the son of the king, the nobles, and the soldiers in Akkad. The king did not come
to Babylon for Nisan. Nabu did not come to Babylon; Bel was not brought forth, and the akitu-festival was not celebrated.
They offered sacrifices in Esagila and Ezida to the gods of Babylon and Borsippa, as is right.
The month Nisan. The fifth day. The mother of the king died in Durkarashu, which is on the bank of the Euphrates above Sippar.
The son of the king and his soldiers mourned three days. A lamentation was arranged. In Sivan, in Akkad,
a lamentation for the mother of the king was arranged. In Nisan, Cyrus, King of Parsu, mustered his troops, and
crossed over the Tigris below Arbela. In Iyyar, to the country * * *
He slew its king (and) took away its possessions. He stationed his own garrison there.
After this time his garrison remained there with that of the king.
10th year. The king in Tema; the son of the king, the nobles, and his troops in Akkad. [The king did not come to Babylon for Nisan.]
Nabu did not come to Babylon; Bel was not brought forth, and the akitu-festival was not celebrated. In [Esagila and Ezida]
they offered sacrifices to the gods of Babylon and Borsippa, as is right. In Sivan, on the twenty-first day * * *
of Elammiya in Akkad * * * the representative in Uruk * * *
11th year. The king in Tema; the son of the king, the nobles, and his troops in Akkad. [The king did not come to Babylon for Nisan.]
[Nabu did not come to] Babylon; Bel was not brought forth, and the akitu-festival was not celebrated. Sacrifices [in Esagila and Ezida]

[to the gods of] Babylon and [Borsippa, as is right] they offered.

[17th year.] * * * Nabu from Borsippa to go forth * * *
* * * the king entered E-tur-kalam-ma. In the [month] * * *

* * * and the Lower Sea rebelled (?) * * *

[Nabu came to Babylon]; Bel was brought forth and the akitu-festival was celebrated, as is right. In the month * * *

the gods of Maradda, the god Zamama, and the gods of Kish, Beltis, and the gods

of Har-sag-kalam-ma entered Babylon. By the end of Elul the gods of Akkad,

those who are above as well as those below the firmament, entered Babylon. The gods of Borsippa, Kutha,

and Sippar did not enter. In the month Tammuz, when Cyrus gave battle in Opis (and?) on

the river Salsallat to the troops of Akkad, the people of Akkad

he subdued (?). Whenever the people collected themselves, he slew them. On the fourteenth day Sippar was taken without battle.

Nabonidus fled. On the sixteenth day, Gobryas, the governor of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus entered Babylon

without battle. Nabonidus, because of his delay, was taken prisoner in Babylon. Until the end of the month, the shields

of Gutium surrounded the gates of Esagila. No weapons were brought into Esagila and the other temples,

and no standard was advanced. On the third day of Marcheshvan, Cyrus entered Babylon.

The harine lay down before him. Peace was established for the city. Cyrus proclaimed peace to

all Babylon. He appointed Gobryas, his governor, governor in Babylon,

and from Kislev to Adar, the gods of Akkad, which Nabonidus had brought to Babylon,

returned to their own cities. On the night of the eleventh day of Marcheshvan, Gobryas against * * *
and (?) he killed the son of the king. From the twenty-seventh day of Adar until the third of Nisan, a lamentation [was arranged] in Akkad.
All the people cast down their heads. On the fourth day, when Cambyses, son of Cyrus, went
to E-sha-pa-kalamma-shum-mu, the prefect of Nabu, who * * *
[when] he went (?), he brought a message in his hand, and when the hands of Nabu * * *
javelins and quivers * * * son of the king (?) to * * *
* * * Nabu turned to Esagila; sacrifices before Bel and * * *

THE CYLINDER OF CYRUS (538–529 B. C.)

* * * his troops (?)
* * * quarters (of the world)
* * * a weakling was appointed to the government of his land
* * * a similar one he appointed over them,
like Esagila he made * * * to Ur and the rest of the cities,
a command unbefitting them * * * daily he planned and, in enmity,
he allowed the regular offering to cease; he appointed * * * he established within the city. As for the worship of Marduk, king of the gods, who destroyed (?) * * *
he showed hostility toward his city daily * * * his (people), he brought all of them to ruin through servitude without rest.
The lord of the gods became furious with anger at their complaints, and [abandoned] their territory. The gods, who dwelt among them, left their abodes,

in anger that he had brought (strange deities [1]) into Babylon. Marduk in * * * turned (?) to all the habitations whose sites had been ruined,

and the people of Sumer and Akkad, who resembled corpses * * * he granted mercy. He searched through all lands, he saw him,

and he sought the righteous prince, after his own heart, whom he took by the hand. Cyrus, King of Anshan, he called by name; to sovereignty over the whole world he appointed him.

The country of Qutu, all the Umman-manda, he made submissive to him. As for the Black-headed People, whom he (Marduk) caused his (Cyrus') hands to conquer,

in justice and right he cared for them. Marduk, the great lord, guardian of his people, looked with joy on his pious works and his upright heart;

he commanded him to go to his city Babylon, and he caused him to take the road to Babylon, going by his side as a friend and companion.

His numerous troops, the number of which, like the waters of a river, can not be known, in full armour, marched at his side.

Without skirmish or battle he permitted him to enter Babylon. He spared his city Babylon in (its) calamity. Nabonidus, the king, who did not reverence him, he delivered into his hand.

All the people of Babylon, all Sumer and Akkad, nobles and governors, prostrated themselves before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his sovereignty, showed happiness in their faces.

The lord, who by his power brings the dead to life, who with (his) care and protection benefits all men—they gladly did him homage, they heeded his command.

I am Cyrus, king of the world, the great king, the powerful king, King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters (of the world),

[1] With Prince Marduk.

son of Cambyses, the great king, King of Anshan; grandson of Cyrus, the great king, King of Anshan; great-grandson of Teispis, the great king, King of Anshan,
of ancient seed-royal, whose reign Bel and Nabu love, whose sovereignty they regard necessary to their happiness. When I made my gracious entrance into Babylon,
with joy and rejoicing I took up my lordly residence in the royal palace. Marduk, the great lord, [granted] me favour among the Babylonians, and I gave daily care to his worship.
My numerous troops marched peacefully into Babylon. In all Sumer and Akkad, the noble race, I permitted no unfriendly treatment.
I gave proper attention to the needs of Babylon and its cities. The Babylonians * * * as much as they desired * * * the servitude, which was not honourable, was removed (?) from them.
I quieted their sighing (and) soothed their sorrow. Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced over my [pious] deeds, and
he graciously blessed me, Cyrus, the king who worships him, and Cambyses, my own son, and all my troops,
while we, in his presence, and with sincerity, gladly lauded his exalted [divinity]. All the kings dwelling in royal halls,
of all the quarters (of the world), from the Upper to the Lower Sea, dwelling * * * all the kings of the west country, who dwell in tents,
brought me their heavy taxes, and in Babylon kissed my feet. From * * * as far as Asshur and Shushan,
Agane, Eshnunak, Zamban, Meturnu, Durilu as far as the border of the land of Quti, the cities on the other side of the Tigris, whose sites were of ancient foundation—
the gods, who dwelt in them, I restored to their places, and I gave them a habitation for all time. I collected all their people and restored (them) to their dwelling-places

and the gods of Sumer and Akkad, whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the lord of the gods, had brought into Babylon, by the command of Marduk, the great lord, peacefully

in their own shrines I made them dwell, in habitations giving joy to their hearts. May all the gods whom I brought into their own cities,

daily before Bel and Nabu pray that I may have a long life, may they speak a gracious word for me, and may they say to Marduk, my lord: "Cyrus, the king who worships thee, and Cambyses his son

* * * their * * *." I permitted all the lands to dwell in quiet.

[The remainder of the inscription is too much mutilated for translation.]

BRICK OF CYRUS

CYRUS, builder of
Esagila and Ezida,
son of Cambyses,
the powerful king, am I.

THE LARGE INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS FROM BEHISTUN

[I AM Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of countries,] the Achæmenian, king of all men, a Persian, the King of Persia.

Thus speaks Darius the king: My father is Hystaspes, the father of Hystaspes [is Arsamnes, the father of Arsamnes is] Ariaramnes, the father of Ariaramnes is Shishpish (Tëispes), the father of Shishpish is Achæmenes.

Thus speaks Darius the king: For this reason [we are

called Achæmenians, from of old] we [have been tested,] from of old (?) (members) of our family have been kings.

Thus speaks Darius the king: Eight members of my family preceding me have ruled as kings; [I am the ninth; in two lines we are nine kings.]

[Thus] speaks [Darius the king:] Under the protection of Ahura-mazda I am king; Ahura-mazda gave me the sovereignty.

Thus speaks Darius the king: These [are the countries which came to me; by the will of Ahura-mazda] I became their king: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Miçir (Egypt), the islands in the gulf, Sparda, Ionia, [Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana,] Aremu (Aria), Humarizmu (Chorasmia), Bactria, Sogdiana, Paruparaēsana, Nammiri, Satagu, [Arachosia, Maka—in all twenty-three countries.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king:] These are the countries which obey me, under the protection of Ahura-mazda; they became subject to me, [they brought me] tribute, they did that [which I commanded them by night or day.]

Thus speaks Darius the king: The prudent man within these lands [I have richly rewarded; the hostile I have severely punished;] under the protection of Ahura-mazda I have established my ordinances as laws in the midst of these countries; [they have done as they were commanded] by me.

Thus speaks [Darius the king:] Ahura-mazda gave me my sovereignty, Ahura-mazda was my strong support until [I attained] this sovereignty; [by the will of Ahura-mazda this kingdom] is subject to me.

Thus speaks Darius the king: This is what I have done under the protection of Ahura-mazda since I have become king. [One of our family, Cambyses by name, the son of Cyrus] was king here before (me). The brother of this Cambyses was Bardiya (Smerdis); (they had) one father and one mother. [Now, Cambyses slew this Bardiya; when] Cambyses slew Bardiya, it was not [known] to the people that Bardiya had been slain. Later Cambyses

[went] to Egypt; [when Cambyses] had gone [to] Egypt, then the people became hostile in heart, and treachery became rife in the provinces, in Persia, and in Media, [and also in the other provinces.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: There was a certain man, a Magian, Gaumata by name, who raised a rebellion] from Pishihumadu, where is a mountain, Arakatri by name; from this place, on the fourteenth day of the month of Adar, he [raised a rebellion; he deceived the people (saying), "I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus, the brother of] Cambyses"; afterward the whole people became hostile to Cambyses and went over to him—Persia and Media [as well as the other provinces; he seized the sovereignty. It was the ninth day of the month of Garmapada when] he seized [the sovereignty.] Thereafter Cambyses committed suicide.

Thus speaks Darius the king: [This sovereignty, which Gaumata the Magian wrenched from Cambyses,] this (sovereignty) had belonged to our family from of old; afterward this Gaumata the Magian [wrenched] the sovereignty from [Cambyses—both Persia and Media, as well as the other provinces; he acted in accord with his own will,] he became king.

Thus speaks Darius the king: There was no one, [neither Persian nor Median, nor any of our family who] could take the sovereignty away from this Gaumata the Magian. The people feared him greatly; [he would kill many who had known the former Bardiya; for this reason he would kill the people, "that] they may not discover (?) that I am not Bardiya, the son of Cyrus." No one ventured to say anything against [Gaumata the Magian until I came.] Afterward I prayed to Ahura-mazda; Ahura-mazda was my strong support; under the protection of Ahura-mazda [on the tenth day of the month Bagayadish, I with a few men slew] this [Gaumata] the Magian and the men (of note) who were with him. In the city Sihiubati, in a district Nisa by name which is in Media, [I slew him; I took the sovereignty away from him. By

the will of Ahura-mazda I became king.] Ahura-mazda gave me the sovereignty.

Thus speaks Darius the king: The sovereignty which [had been taken] away [from our family I restored again;] I established [it in its original place,] I exercised it. [I restored] the temples of the gods which this Gaumata the Magian had destroyed, (and I) [restored sustenance for the people, the flocks, and the habitation of houses (?), which] this Gaumata the Magian had taken away from them; I restored the people to their place, Persia, Media, [and the other provinces. As (it was) formerly, I replaced what had been taken away]; under the protection of Ahura-mazda, I did this. I exercised care until I [reinstated] our house in its place; [as (it was) formerly, when this Gaumata the Magian had not removed our house, [I exercised care (to make it)] under the protection of Ahura-mazda.

[Thus speaks] Darius [the king: This is what I did after I had become king.]

Thus speaks Darius the king: After I had gone and slain Gaumata the Magian, there was a man [Atrina (Ashina) by name, the son of Upadarma, who] rose up [in Susa] and spoke as follows: "I am the King of Elam"; thereupon the Elamites became hostile to me [and went over to that Atrina; he became king in Susa. And a man, a Babylonian,] Nidintu-Bel by name, the son of Aniri, rose up in Babylon, deceiving the people as follows: "I am [Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus"; thereupon the entire Babylonian people] went over [to that Nidintu-Bel;] Babylon revolted, he seized the sovereignty of Babylon.

Thus speaks Darius the king: [Thereupon I sent to Susa, that Atrina was brought bound to me] and I slew him.

Thus speaks Darius the king: Afterward I marched to Babylon against [that Nidintu-Bel who called himself Nebuchadrezzar. The host] of Nidintu-Bel had taken up a position on ships (?) and occupied (?) the banks (?) of the

Tigris. [Thereupon I divided my army into two parts (?); I placed the one on camels, the other I supplied with horses.] Ahura-mazda was my strong support, under the protection of Ahura-mazda we crossed the Tigris. I smote [the army of Nidintu-Bel;] on the twenty-sixth of Kislev we fought the battle.

[Thus] speaks [Darius the king:] Thereupon I marched to Babylon; before Babylon was reached there was a city by the name of Zazanu on the banks of the Euphrates; [hither that Nidintu-Bel] who said, "I am Nebuchadrezzar," [had come forth against me with his host to offer battle]; thereupon we joined battle; Ahura-mazda was my strong support, under the protection of Ahura-mazda (I smote) the host of Nidintu-Bel; [the enemy was driven into the water, the water bore him away. On the second] day [of the month of Anamaka] we fought the battle.

Thus speaks Darius the king: Thereupon this Nidintu-Bel, accompanied by a few soldiers upon (horses) [went to Babylon. Afterward] I (too) went [to Babylon;] under the protection of Ahura-mazda I took Babylon and seized Nidintu-Bel; then I [slew this Nidintu-Bel] in Babylon.

[Thus speaks] Darius [the king: While] I was [in Babylon], these are the provinces which revolted against me: Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, [Egypt, Parthia, Margiana,] Satagu, Nammiri.

[Thus speaks Darius the king: There was a man], Martiya by name, the son of Shinshahrish; he lived in the city Kugunaka in Persia; he rose up in Elam [and he spoke to the people as follows: "I am] Imanisi, King [of Elam."]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: At that time I was in friendly relations with Elam; the Elamites feared me; they seized] that Martiya, who was the chief over them, and of their own accord they slew him.

[Thus speaks] Darius the king: [A man,] Parumartish (Fravartish) [by name, a Median, rose up in Media; he spoke to the people] as follows: "I am Hashatriti, of the

seed of Umaku-Ishtar"; thereupon the people of Media, as many as there were in the palace, [rebelled] against me [and went over to this Fravartish; he became king in] Media.

[Thus speaks Darius the king: The Persian and Median army which was with me was small;] thereupon I sent the army to Media; (my) servant, Umidarna (Vidarna) by name, a Persian, [I placed at its head. I spoke to him as follows: "Go smite that Median army which does not call itself mine." Thereupon] Umidarna marched to Media with the army. As he approached a city, Maru by name, which is in Media, [he joined battle with the Medes. (He) who was chief among the Medes did not maintain (his position). Ahura-mazda bore me aid;] under the protection of Ahura-mazda my army smote these rebels. On the twenty-seventh day of the month of Tebet they engaged in battle; [there is a place, Kampada by name,] which is in Media; here they waited for me until I came to Media.

[Thus speaks Darius the king: There was an Armenian, Dadarshish by name, a servant of mine; I sent him to Armenia; I spoke to him as follows: "Go,] smite the rebellious army which does not obey me"; [thereupon Dadarshish went forth. When he arrived in Armenia the rebels assembled themselves, and marched against Dadarshish] to give battle. Thereupon Dadarshish joined battle with them in a city called Zuzu in Armenia. [Ahura-mazda bore me aid; by the will of Ahura-mazda my army utterly smote that rebellious army. On the eighth day of the month of Thuravahara the battle was fought.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: A second time] the rebels assembled themselves and marched against Dadarshish to give battle. Thereupon they joined battle [at a stronghold by the name of Tigra in Armenia. Ahura-mazda bore me aid; by the will of Ahura-mazda my army utterly smote that rebellious army. On the eighteenth day of the month of Thuravahara the] battle [was fought.] They killed five hundred and forty-six of them, and took

five hundred and twenty alive. Later, for a third time, the rebels [assembled themselves and marched against Dadarshish to give battle; at a stronghold by the name of Uhyama in Armenia, they joined battle. Ahura-mazda bore me aid;] under the protection of Ahura-mazda my army smote the rebels. On the ninth day of the month Tishrit they fought the battle. [After this Dadarshish waited in(active?) for me until I came to Media.]

Thus speaks Darius the king: My servant, Umisi (Vaumisa) by name, a Persian (I sent) to Armenia. [I spoke to him as follows: "Go, smite the army which is rebellious and does not call itself mine." Thereupon Vaumisa went, and when he came to Armenia] the rebels assembled themselves and marched against Umisi to give battle; afterward they engaged in battle [in a place by the name of Izitush in Assyria. Ahura-mazda bore me aid; by the will of Ahura-mazda my army utterly smote that rebellious army. On the fifteenth day of the month of Anamaka the battle was fought.] They killed two thousand and twenty-four of them. For a second time the rebels assembled and marched against Umisi to give battle; [at a place Autiyara by name, in Armenia, they fought the battle. Ahura-mazda bore me aid; by the will of Ahura-mazda my army] smote the rebels. On the thirtieth day of the month of Aru they engaged in battle. They killed two thousand and forty-five of them, and took twenty-five hundred and fifty-nine alive. [After this Vaumisa waited in Armenia for me until I came to Media.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: Thereupon I went away from Babylon and (proceeded)] toward Media. As I approached Media (there was) a city, Kundur by name, in Media; thither [marched that Fravartish, who called himself king in Media, against me to give battle. Thereupon we fought a battle.] Ahura-mazda was my strong support; under the protection of Ahura-mazda, [I smote] the army of Parumartish. [On the twenty-sixth day of the month of Adukani we fought the battle.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: Thereafter that Fravar-

tish] departed [thence with] a few horsemen and came to a district by the name of Raga in Media. Thereupon [I sent] an army [against them. Fravartish was seized and brought to me. I cut off his nose (and) ears, and I cut out his tongue, and I put out his eyes. At my court he was kept in chains;] all the people saw him. Later I crucified him in Ecbatana; [and the men who were his most prominent supporters I impaled in prison in Ecbatana.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: A man, Citrantakhma by name, a Sagartian, rebelled against me,] and spoke to the people as follows: "I am a king of the seed of Umaku-Ishtar." Thereupon I (sent forth) a Median army; [Takhmaspada, my servant, I made their chief. I spoke to them as follows: "Go, smite the army which has rebelled and does not call itself mine." Thereupon Takhmaspada departed with the army and] he engaged [in battle] with Citrantakhma. Ahura-mazda was my strong support; under the protection of Ahura-mazda, [my army utterly smote the rebellious army, and they seized Citrantakhma and brought him to me. Then I cut off his nose and ears and put out his eyes. He was kept in chains at my court;] all the people saw him. Afterward I crucified him in Arbela. The totality of the slain and living * * *

[Thus speaks Darius the king: This is what was done by me in Media.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: Parthia and Hyrcania rebelled, and declared themselves (supporters) of] Parumartish * * * Hystaspes my father lived in Parthia, and [the people forsook him [in a body?]. Thereupon Hystaspes marched away with the army which (remained) true. At a place by the name of Vispauvatish, in Parthia, they fought the battle]. Ahura-mazda was my strong support; under the protection of Ahura-mazda, Hystaspes smote these rebels. On the twenty-second day [of the month of Viyakhna the battle was fought.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: Thereupon I sent a Persian army from Raga to Hystaspes;] when the army had come to Hystaspes, Hystaspes (took) that army [and

marched forth. At a place by the name of Patigrabana, in Parthia, he fought a battle with the rebels. Ahura-mazda bore me aid; by the will of Ahura-mazda, Hystaspes utterly smote that rebellious army. On the first day of the month Garmapada] they fought the battle. They killed sixty-five hundred and seventy of them, and took forty-one hundred and ninety-two alive.

[Thus speaks Darius the king: Thereupon the land became mine. This is what was done by me in Parthia.]

Thus speaks Darius the king: A province, Margu (Margiana) by name, rebelled against me. [They made] a man by the name of Parada (Frada) [a Margianian, their chief. Thereupon I sent my servant, a Persian, by the name of Dadarshish, satrap in Bactria, against that one. I spoke to him as follows: "Go, smite the army which does not call itself mine."] Thereupon Dadarshish marched forth with the army; they fought a battle with the Margians. [Ahura-mazda bore me aid; by the will of Ahura-mazda my army utterly smote that rebellious army. On the twenty-third day of the month of Atriyadiya the battle was fought]. [They killed] forty-two hundred and three of them, and took sixty-five hundred and seventy-two alive.

Thus [speaks] Darius the king: [Thereupon the land became mine. This is what was done by me in Bactria.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: There was a man, Vahyazdata]; he dwelt [in a place by the name of Tarava, in a region] by the name of [Yautiya,] in Persia. He rose up in Persia and spoke to the people [as follows: "I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus." Thereupon the Persian people who were in the palace broke allegiance (?); they rebelled against me and went over to that Vahyazdata; he became king in Persia.]

Thus speaks Darius the king: Thereupon I [sent forth] the Persian army [which was with me; I made a Persian, named Artavardiya, a servant of mine, their chief. The rest] of the Persian army marched with me to Media. Then Artavardiya [marched] with the army [to Persia. As

he came to Persia there was a city by the name of Rakha in Persia; hither this Vahyazdata, who called himself Bardiya, had come with an army against Artavardiya to offer battle. Thereupon] they fought the battle. Ahura-mazda was my strong support; under the protection of Ahura-mazda [my army utterly smote that army of that Vahyazdata. On the twelfth day of the month of Thuravahara the battle was fought.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: Thereupon] this Vahyazdata departed with a few horsemen for [Paishiyauvada. Thither he marched again with an army against Vahyazdata to offer battle. At a mountain, Paraga by name, they engaged in battle.] Ahura-mazda was my strong support; under the protection of Ahura-mazda my army smote the army of Vahyazdata. [On the sixth day of the month of Garmapada the battle was fought; and they seized that Vahyazdata and took the men who were his chief supporters.]

Thus speaks Darius the king: Thereafter I crucified this Vahyazdata and all the men who were with him; [in a city, Uvadaicaya by name, in] Persia, I did this.

Thus speaks Darius the king: [That Vahyazdata, who called himself Bardiya, sent an army to Arachosia against a Persian named Vivana, my servant, the satrap] of Arachosia. (He spoke to them) as follows: "Go, smite that Vivana, and [the army which calls itself (that) of King Darius." Then the army which Vahyazdata had sent marched against Vivana to offer battle. At the stronghold, Kapishakanish by name], they fought the battle. Ahura-mazda was my strong support; under the protection of Ahura-mazda [my] army [utterly smote that rebellious army. On the thirteenth day of the month of Anamaka the battle was fought.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: The rebels assembled themselves again and marched against Vivana to offer battle. In a region, Gandutava by name], they fought the battle. Ahura-mazda was my strong support; under the protection of Ahura-mazda, [my army utterly smote that

rebellious army. On the seventh day of the month Viyakhna the battle was fought.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king:] Thereupon this man, the chief of the army, whom Vahyazdata had sent with the army, [departed with a few horsemen. There is a stronghold, Arshada by name, in Árachosia; he passed by this. Hereupon Vivana followed after them with the army on foot;] he seized him and slew him, and he also slew the men who were with him. The totality of the dead and the living of the army * * *

[Thus speaks Darius the king: This is what I] have done in Arachosia.

Thus speaks Darius the king: While I [was still] in Persia and Media, [the Babylonians for a second time revolted against me. A man by the name of Arahu, an Armenian, the son of Haldita, rose up in Babylon. There is a place by the name of Dubala; thence he rose up; he spoke to] the people of Babylon as follows: "I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus." Thereupon the people of Babylon [rebelled] against me [and went over to this Arakhu. He seized Babylon, he became king in Babylon.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: Thereupon I sent an army to Babylon. A Median, Vindafra by name, a servant of mine, I made their chief.] I sent [him] forth with orders as follows: "Go, smite the army of the rebels." [Thereupon Vindafra went forth with the army to Babylon. Ahura-mazda bore me aid; by the will of Ahura-mazda Vindafra took Babylon and] smote the army of Babylon, the rebels * * * (and) bound them (as captives). The army in whose midst * * * bound (?). Thereupon I gave orders as follows: Arahu and the men [who were his most prominent supporters shall be crucified in Babylon].

Thus speaks Darius the king: This is what I have done in Babylon.

Thus speaks Darius the king: That which I [did came to pass solely through the grace of Ahura-mazda. Since I have been king I have fought nineteen battles; by the will of Ahura-mazda I smote them.] Nine of their kings I

took prisoners: One, Gaumata by name, the Magian, lied and spoke as follows: [" I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus." This one made Persia rebellious. One, by the name of Atrina, the Susian, lied and spoke as follows: " I am the King of Susa (Elam)." This one] made Elam rebellious. One, Nidintu-Bel by name, a Babylonian, lied and spoke as follows: " I am Nebuchadrezzar [the son of Nabonidus." This one made Babylon rebellious. One by the name of Martiya, a Persian, lied and spoke as follows: " I am Ummanish, King of Susa." This one] made [Susa] rebellious. One, Parumartish by name, a Median, lied and spoke as follows: " I am Hashatriti [of the seed of Umaku-Ishtar." This one made Media rebellious. One, Citrantakhma by name, a Sagartian, lied and spoke as follows: " I am King of Sagartia, of the seed of] Umaku-Ishtar." This one made Sagartia rebellious. One, Parada by name, a Margianian, [lied and spoke as follows: " I am king in Margiana." This one made Margiana rebellious. One, Vahyazdata by name, a Persian, lied and spoke as follows: " I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus."] This one made Persia rebellious. One, Arahu by name, an Armenian, lied and spoke as follows: " I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus." This one made Babylon rebellious.

Thus speaks Darius the king: [These nine kings] the hands of my army seized within [these battles.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: As for these provinces which became rebellious, a lie made them rebellious, so that they deceived] the people. Thereupon Ahura-mazda gave them into my hands; [according to my desire I treated them.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king; O thou who art to be king in the future guard thyself carefully against lying.] Exact much of the man who lies when thou wouldst say, [" My country shall be unharmed."]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: Ahura-mazda was my strong] support in what I did. The inscription which thou beholdest on the tablet * * * [May what I have done appear credible to thee! Do not regard it as a lie * * *]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: As a worshipper of Ahura-mazda (I swear?) that this is true, not false, what I have done in every particular.]

Thus speaks Darius the king: Under the protection of Ahura-mazda [many other things also were done by me which are not written in this inscription. For this reason they were not written, lest he who] shall read [this inscription later] shall say, these are lies.

Thus [speaks] Darius the king: [As long as the former kings were (in power) they did not do what I have accomplished solely through the grace of Ahura-mazda.]

Thus speaks [Darius] the king: Now, according as I have done and the weighty * * * [may it appear credible. Do thou believe, wherefore destroy it not. If thou dost not destroy this inscription, but dost communicate it to the people, may Ahura-mazda be thy friend, thy family numerous, and] thy days long! But if thou dost conceal these words from the people, [then may Ahura-mazda slay thee, and may thy family come to naught!]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: That which I have done] I did [solely] under the protection of Ahura-mazda. Ahura-mazda was my strong support, and the (other) gods [as many as there are.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: For this reason Ahura-mazda, and the other gods, as many as there are, bore me aid, because I was not hostile, was not false, did not] exercise [despotism,] neither I nor my family; according to the laws [have I ruled. Against neither * * * nor * * * have I used force. The man who has supported my house, him have I protected well; he who has brought evil, him have I severely punished.]

[Thus] speaks [Darius the king:] Whoever thou art who rulest after me, a man who lies or a man [who is rebellious do thou not befriend, but punish him severely.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king:] When thou beholdest this inscription and these images, [destroy them not, but guard them so long as thou livest.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: When thou beholdest

this tablet and these images, and dost not destroy but guardest them for me as long as thy family continues, then may Ahura-mazda be thy friend; may thy family be numerous, may] thy days [be long,] and may Ahura-mazda prosper [what thou doest!]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: When thou beholdest this tablet and these images, and destroyest them, guardest them not for me so long as thy family continues, then] may Ahura-mazda curse [thee, may thy family come to naught, and what thou doest may Ahura-mazda destroy!]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: These are the men who] were by me when I [slew] this Gaumata [the Magian, who called himself Bardiya. At that time these men assisted me as my supporters: one, Vindafrana by name, son of] Uizparu, a Persian; one, Umitana by name, son of Suhra, a Persian; [one, Gaubaruva by name, son of Marduniya, a Persian; one, Vidarna, son of Bagabigna, a Persian; one, Bagabukhsha] by name, son of Zatu, a Persian; and one, Ardimanish by name, son of Ushuhku, [a Persian.]

[Thus speaks Darius the king: Thou who later dost become king] * * * these * * * much * * *

THE SMALLER ACHÆMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS

I. CYRUS INSCRIPTION

I AM Cyrus, the Achæmenian.

II. SEAL INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS

I am Darius, the great king.

III. DARIUS INSCRIPTION FROM KERMAN

I am Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of this earth, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian.

IV. THE SMALLER INSCRIPTIONS FROM BEHISTUN

1. This is Gaumata the Magian, who lied, saying, "I am Barzia (Bardiya), the son of Cyrus."

2. This is Ashina (Atrina), who lied, saying, "I am King of Elam."

3. This is Nidintu-Bel, who lied, saying, "I am Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabonidus."

4. This is Parumartish (Fravartish), who lied, saying, "I am Hashatriti (Khshathrita), of the seed of Umaku-Ishtar (Cyaxares)."

5. This is Martiya, who lied, saying, "I am Imanisi, King of Elam."

6. This is Shitrantahmu (Citrantakhma), who lied, saying, "I am of the seed of Umaku-Ishtar (Cyaxares)."

7. This is Umizdatu (Vahyazdata), who lied, saying, "I am Barzia (Bardiya), the son of Cyrus."

8. This is Arahu, who lied, saying, "I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus."

9. This is Parada (Frada), who lied, saying, "I am a king, the ruler of Margu (Margiana)."

V. THE LARGE NAQS-I-RUSTAM INSCRIPTION

The great God of gods is Ahura-mazda (Ormazd), who has created the heavens and the earth, who also created mankind, who has granted favour to mankind, who created Darius, king of many kings.

I am Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of all the various tongues, king of the broad, large earth, son of Ushtazpa (Hystaspes), the Achæmenian, a Persian, the son of a Persian.

Darius the king says: Under the protection of Ahura-mazda I have annexed the following countries to Persia; I exercise authority over them, and they bring me tribute; they carry out in submission whatever orders they receive from me, and they hold my commands in high regard: Media, Elam, Parthia, Aremu (Aria), Bactria, Sogdiana,

Chorasmia, Zaranga (Drangiana), Arachosia, Sattagydia, the Gandarans, India, the Nammiri-Umurga, the Nammiri * * *, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Saparda, Ionia, the Nammiri of the other side of the sea, Izkuduru, the other Ionians, who wear braid-work (?) upon their heads, Puta (Putiya), Kushu (Kushiya), the Maciya, Kirka (Karka).

Darius the king says: When Ahura-mazda saw that these countries were hostilely inclined and overbearing toward each other, he gave them to me, and appointed me to sovereignty over them; I (became) king. Under the protection of Ahura-mazda I pacified them, and what I command them they carry out just as I desire. And if thou sayest, How did these countries become the property of Darius the king? then look upon all the figures of those who bear my throne; therein thou shalt recognise them. Then thou mayest understand how far the lance of a Persian man has gone; then thou mayest understand how far from his land a Persian man has made war.

Darius the king says: All this which I have done I did under the protection of Ahura-mazda; Ahura-mazda was my strong support until I accomplished it. May Ahura-mazda protect me from all evil, and also my house, and this my country; I pray to Ahura-mazda; may Ahura-mazda grant it! O man, what Ahura-mazda commands shall not fall heavily upon thee.

VI. THE SMALLER INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAQS-I-RUSTAM

1. Kubara, a Patishhurish, the spear-bearer of Darius the king.
2. This is Azpahina, of Darius the king * * *
3. These are the Maciya-men (?).

VII. PERSEPOLIS INSCRIPTION (B)

Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of all the various tongues, son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian, who has built this house.

VIII. INSCRIPTION FROM HAMADAN

A great god is Ahura-mazda, who has created this earth, who has created these heavens, who created mankind, who bestowed all this abundance on mankind, who made Darius a king, unique among the former kings, unique among the former rulers.

I am Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, of all the various tongues, king of this large broad earth, son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian.

IX. WINDOW INSCRIPTION

Window casings * * * made in the palace of Darius.

X. PERSEPOLIS INSCRIPTION (H)

Great is Ahura-mazda, who is chief over all the gods, who has created the heavens and the earth and has created mankind, who bestows only favour upon mankind, whereby they live, who has created Darius the king, and has granted Darius the king sovereignty over this broad earth, in which are many countries—Persia, Media, and the other lands and other tongues, mountains, and the level country of this side of the sea and the other side of the sea, this side of the desert land and of the other side of the desert land.

Darius the king says: Under the protection of Ahura-mazda, these are the countries which do that which I place on them as commands; (countries) which muster here: Persia, Media, and other lands and other tongues; the mountains and the level country of this side of the sea and the other side of the sea, of this side of the desert land and of the other side of the desert land. All that I have done I have accomplished under the protection of Ahura-mazda. May Ahura-mazda, together with all the gods, protect me and my rule!

XI. PERSEPOLIS INSCRIPTION (G)

Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, the son of Darius the king, the Achæmenian.

XII. XERXES INSCRIPTION (D)

A great god is Ahura-mazda, who has created this earth, who has created these heavens, who created mankind, who has granted favour to mankind, who created Xerxes, the king, unique among many kings, unique among many rulers.

I am Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, (king) of all tongues, king of this large, broad earth, son of Darius the king, the Achæmenian.

Xerxes the king says: Under the protection of Ahura-mazda I have built this gate, Visadahyu by name, and many other structures have I built in this land of Persia; what I have built and what my father has built, and those which are in existence and can be seen, all these we have built under the protection of Ahura-mazda.

Xerxes the king says: May Ahura-mazda protect me, and what pertains to my sovereignty, and my countries, and what I have built and what my father has built, that also, whatever it be, may Ahura-mazda protect it!

XIII. XERXES INSCRIPTION (E)

A great god is Ahura-mazda, who has created this earth, who has created these heavens, who created mankind, who has granted favour to mankind, who bestowed the sovereignty on Xerxes, as unique among many kings, (as unique) among many rulers.

I am Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of countries, king of all tongues, the king of this large, broad earth, son of Darius the king, the Achæmenian.

Xerxes the great king says: That which I have done here, and that which I have done in another territory, all which I have done, I have accomplished under the pro-

tection of Ahura-mazda. May Ahura-mazda, together with the other gods, protect me and my sovereignty and that which I have done!

XIV. PERSEPOLIS INSCRIPTION (Ca)

A great god is Ahura-mazda, who has created the heavens, and has created this earth, who created mankind, who has granted favour to mankind, who created Xerxes the king, king of many kings, who alone rules over all the various lands.

I am Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, (king) of all the various tongues, king of this great, broad earth, the son of Darius the king, the Achæmenian.

Xerxes, the great king, says: Under the protection of Ahura-mazda, my father, Darius the king, built this house. May Ahura-mazda, together with all the gods, protect me and what I have built, and what my father, Darius the king, has built; this also may Ahura-mazda, together with all the gods, protect!

XV. PERSEPOLIS INSCRIPTION (Cb)

A great god is Ahura-mazda, who has created the heavens and has created this earth, who created mankind, who has granted favour to mankind, who created Xerxes the king, king of many kings, who alone rules over all the various lands.

I am Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, (king) of all the various tongues, king of this great, broad earth, son of Darius the king, the Achæmenian.

Xerxes the great king says: Under the protection of Ahura-mazda, Darius the king, my father, built this house. May Ahura-mazda, together with all the gods, protect me, and what I have constructed; and what Darius the king, my father, has constructed, this also may Ahura-mazda, together with all gods, protect!

XVI. INSCRIPTION FROM ELVEND

A great god is Ahura-mazda, chief of the gods, who has created this earth, who has created these heavens, who created this humanity, who has granted favour to mankind, who created Xerxes the king, unique among many kings, unique among former rulers.

I am Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of all lands, king of this great, broad earth, son of Darius the king, the Achæmenian.

XVII. XERXES INSCRIPTION FROM VAN

A great god is Ahura-mazda, chief of the gods, who has created the heavens and has created the earth, and has created mankind, who has granted favour to mankind, who created Xerxes the king, king of many kings, who alone rules over all the various countries.

I am Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of all the various tongues, king of this great, broad earth, son of Darius the king, the Achæmenian.

Xerxes the king says: Darius the king, who is my father—under the protection of Ahura-mazda, many are the structures which he built; and he gave orders to build this mountain * * * but he did not write thereon. Later I gave orders to write (thereon). May Ahura-mazda, together with all the gods, protect me and my sovereignty and what I have done!

XVIII. INSCRIPTION OF ARTAXERXES MNEMON

Artaxerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of the countries which are on the face of the whole earth, son of Darius the king, says: Darius the king was the son of Artaxerxes the king, Artaxerxes the king was the son of Xerxes the king, Xerxes the king was the son of Darius the king, Darius the king was the son of Hystaspes of Achæmenian seed.

This building, by the name of Appadan, Darius, my great-great-grandfather, erected on yon mountain (?). In the time of Artaxerxes, my grandfather, fire destroyed it. Under the protection of Ahura-mazda, Anahitu, and Mitri [I built anew this structure by the name of Appadan]. May Ahura-mazda, Anahitu, and Mitri protect [me from all evil] and [not] destroy or ruin [what I have done]!

XIX. FRAGMENT (Sb)

* * * Artaxerxes, the great king, * * *
* * * earth, son of Darius * * *

Artaxerxes the king under the protection of Ahura-[Mazda] * * *

XX. INSCRIPTION OF ARTAXERXES I

* * * unique [among many rulers], I am [Artaxerxes, the great king, king] of kings, king of countries, [king of all tongues], king of this [great, broad] earth, [son] of Xerxes [the king, son of Darius the king], the Achæmenian.

Artaxerxes [the king says]: Under the protection [of Ahura-mazda] I have established this house [which I have built and which] my father [built]. May [Ahura-mazda] protect me [and what I have done] and my sovereignty [and my countries]!

XXI. VENICE INSCRIPTION (Q)

Artaxerxes, the great king.

INSCRIPTION OF ANTIOCHUS-SOTER, KING OF BABYLON (280–260 B. C.)

ANTIOCHUS, the great king, the powerful king, king of the world, King of Babylon, king of lands, patron of Esagila and Ezida, chief son of Seleucus, king of the Macedonians, King of Babylon, am I.

When my heart incited me to rebuild Esagila and Ezida, and I made bricks for Esagila and Ezida in the land of the Hittites with my white hands with oil * * * and to lay the foundation of Esagila and Ezida I * * * In the month Adar, on the twentieth day, in the forty-third year, I laid the foundation of Ezida, the eternal temple, the Temple of Nabu in Borsippa.

O Nabu, exalted son, powerful leader of the gods, who for exaltation was born (established), the first-born son of Marduk, offspring of Erua, the queen, who controls birth, look with favour, and by thy exalted command, which can not be altered, the overthrow of the country of my enemy, the victory of my power, suzerainty over my foes, a kingdom of righteousness, a reign (full) of rejoicing, years of good cheer, abundance of offspring, as a present to the kingdom of Antiochus, and of Seleucus, the king, his son [do thou grant] for all time!

O Nabu, son of Esagila, first-born of Marduk, of highest rank, offspring of Erua, the queen, when thou enterest with joy and rejoicing into Ezida, the eternal temple, the temple of thy divinity, the dwelling which cheers thy heart, at thy righteous command, which can not be hindered, may my days be long!

May my years be many!

May my throne be (firmly) established!

May my reign become old!

With thy exalted sceptre, that holds fast the circuit of heaven and earth, at thy bright mouth (illustrious command) may they establish my good fortune!

The lands from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun, may my hands conquer!

May I force tribute from them, and for the completion of Esagila and Ezida may I bring (it)!

O Nabu, chief son, when thou enterest into Ezida, the eternal temple, good fortune for Antiochus, king of lands, Seleucus, the king, his son, Stratonice, his consort, the queen—may their good fortune be (firmly) established at thy command!

THE SYNCHRONOUS HISTORY OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

Based on the collation of Winckler

KARAINDASH, King of Kardu[niash], and Ashurbêlnisheshu, King of Assyria, made compacts with one another, and each of his accord gave an oath to the other concerning the boundary.

Puzur-Ashur, King of Assyria, and Burnaburiash, King of Karduniash, held a conference and fixed the boundary of the territory by mutual consent.

In the time of Ashuruballit, King of Assyria, the Kassite troops rebelled against Karahardash, King of Karduniash, son of Muballitat-Sherua, daughter of Ashuruballit, killed him (and) made Nazibugash [son of Nobo]dy, their king.

To av[enge Kar]ahardash [Ashuruballit] marched * * * to Karduniash, killed [Na]zibugash, King of Kardu-[ni]ash, made [Kuri]galzu, the younger son of Burnaburiash, king and set him on his father's throne.

In the time of Belnirari, King of Assyria, Kurigalzu the younger (was) [the King of Karduniash]. Bel-nirari, King of Assyria, fought with him in Sugagi on the river * * * defeated him and carried away his troops, [his camp] and his supplies. From the border (?) of the land of Shubari [to] Karduniash they divided the land, took equal parts (and) fixed the boundary.

Rammannirari, King of Assyria, (and) Nazimaraddash, King of Karduniash, fought with one another in Kar-Ishtar of Akarsallu. Rammannirari defeated Nazimaraddash, overthrew him (and) carried away his camp * * * Concerning the boundary of the territory—they fixed by mutual consent (?) their boundaries from the land of Pilaski on the other side of the Tigris (and from) Arman-Akarsallu to Lulume, established them and took equal parts.[1]

[1] A fragment follows: * * * King of Karduni[ash] * * * in the midst of battle * * *

THE EASTERN WORLD IN THE MIDDLE OF THE REIGN OF ASHURBANIPAL.

* * *[1] paid him homage * * * as far as Kullaar * * *

Belkuduruçur, King of Assyria, and [Ramman(?)baliddina (?), King of Karduniash] fought. Belkuduruçur killed Ramman(?)baliddina (?) in battle. Ninibabaleshara * * * returned to his land, [collected] his [nume]rous forces * * * (and) marched to Asshur to conquer it. He fought therein, retreated [and returned to his land].

In the time of Zamamashumiddin, King of [Karduniash] * * * Ashurdan, King of Assyria, marched to Kardu[niash], [captured] Zaban, Irria, Akarsal[lu, * * * carried away] their rich [spoil] to Assyria * * *

* * * he re[treated] (and) returned to his country. [Nebuchadrezzar] marched after him, carrying his siege-engines to Zaanqi, the fortress of * * * to conquer (it). Ashurreshishi, King of Assyria, collected his chariots to march against him. Nebuchadrezzar, because his siege-engines were surrounded, burned his camp (?) with fire, retreated and returned to his country. Nebuchadrezzar, with chariots and infantry, marched to the fortress on the border of Assyria to conquer it. Ashurreshishi sent chariots (and) infantry to its relief, fought with him, defeated him, slew his forces, (and) carried away his supplies. They brought back forty of his chariots with trappings. They captured Karashtu, the leader of his forces.

Tiglath-pileser, King of Assyria, (and) Marduk-nadinahe, King of Karduniash, set, for the second time, in the district of the city Arzuhina, in battle array all the chariots, which were above the lower Zab. In the second year he fought in Marriti, which is in upper Akkad. He captured Durkurigalzu, Sippar of Shamash, Sippar of Anunit, Babylon, Upi, great cities with their citadels. At that time he plun[dered] Akarsal[lu] as far as Lubdu (and) [subjugated] all the land of Suhi as far as Rapiqu.

In the time of Ashurbelkala, King of [Assyria], Mardukshapikkullat (was) the King of Kardu[niash]. They made friendship (and) per[fect] alliance with one another. In the time of Ashurbelkala, King of Assyria, Marduk-

[1] Part of another broken tablet.

shapikkullat was [driven out] by his country. Rammanbaliddina, son of Esakkuruna, son of Nobody, they made their king. Ashurbelkala, King of As[syria], married the daughter of Rammanbaliddina, King of Karduniash (and) brought her to Assyria with her rich dowry. The people of Assyria (and) of Karduniash * * * with each other * * *

In the time of Rammannirari, King of Assyria, Shamashmudammiq, King of Karduniash, set his battle array at the foot of Mount Yalman. Rammannirari, King of Assyria, defeated Shamashmudammiq, King of Karduniash, overthrew him and [carried away] chariots and his [horses trained] to the yoke.

Shamashmudammiq, King [of Karduniash], was killed by Nabushumishkun. Rammannirari, King [of Assyria], fought with Nabushumishkun, King of [Karduniash], (and) defeated him * * * [he captured] * * * banbala, Huda[du(?)], many cities and brought their rich spoil [to Assyria]. He shut up [Nabushumishkun in] a fortress (?) of his country. Because their daughter to one another * * * they made [friendship] (and) a perfect alliance with one another. [The people of] Assyria (and) of Akkad * * * with one another. From Tel-Bari, which is above the Zab to Tel-Batani and Tel-Zabdani they fixed the boundary.

[In the ti]me of Shalmaneser, King of [Assyria] [Nab]ubaliddin (was) King of Karduniash. They made [friend]ship and a perfect alliance with one another. In the time of Shalmaneser, King of [Assyria], [Nabu]baliddin, King of Karduniash, was [driven out] by his country. [Mar]duknadinshum took his seat on his father's throne. Mardukbelusati, his brother, rebelled against him, seized * * * They divided Akkad equally. Shalmaneser marched to the help of Marduknadinshum, King of Karduniash. He killed Mardukbelusati, the usurper (?), with his fellow-rebels. [He went up] to Kutha, Babylon [and Borsippa, and offered pure sacrifices] * * * [A break follows.]

* * *[1] [the boundary] they fixed.

[Mardukbalatsuiq]bi, King of Karduniash * * * [Shamshi-]ramman, King of Assyria * * * defeated Mardukbalatsuiqbi and covered the plain [with the corpses of his sol]diers * * *

* * * he shut him up. He captured that city (and) brought Bauhiddin with his property and the treasure of his palace to Assyria. He captured Durilu, Lahiru, Gannanati, Durpapsukal, Bitriduti, Me-turn[at], numerous cities of Karduniash and their citadels. He carried away—(as) rich spoil—their gods, (namely): Humhummu, Belit of Babylon, Belit of Akkad, Shimalia, Nergal, Anunit (?) * * * of Malik. He went up to Kutha, Babylon, and Borsippa, and offered pure sacrifices. He went down to Kaldu (and) received the tribute of the King of Kaldu, his officers (?) * * * on the side of Karduniash * * * he re-established the boundary, [fixed] the territory.

Rammannirari, King of Assyria, and * * * (Lines are badly broken).

He brought back the captives; stated temple-tribute (?) of grain (?) he imposed upon them. The people of Assyria (and) of Karduniash * * * with one another * * * the territory and fi[xed] the boundary fairly.

May the later prince, whomsoever they may establish in Akkad, write on power and conquest (and) add it to this tablet, which is eternal and never to be forgotten! Whosoever receives it, may he listen to all that is written (thereon), glorify the majesty of Assyria for all time, (and) drive out the wickedness of Akkad to all the quar[ters] (of the world).

(Postscript.) [Property of Ashurbanipal], King of Assyria.

[1] From a broken tablet.

THE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE

[In the third year of Nabonassar], King of Babylon, [Tiglath-pileser] took his seat on the throne in Assyria. In the same year he marched down to Akkad, plundered the cities Rabbiku and Hamranu, and carried away the gods of the city Shapazza.

In the time of Nabonassar, Borsippa separated itself from Babylon. The battle of Nabonassar against Borsippa is not recorded.

In the fifth year of Nabonassar, Ummanigash took his seat on the throne in Elam.

In the fourteenth year Nabonassar was taken ill and died in his palace. Nabonassar reigned fourteen years over Babylon. Nadin, his son, took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

In the second year Nadin was killed in a revolt. Nadin reigned two years over Babylon. Shumukin, a governor, leader of the revolt, took his seat on the throne. Shumukin reigned two months, [twelve] days over Babylon. Ukinzér * * * on the throne * * * [killed him (?)] and seized the throne.

In the third year of Ukinzer, Tiglath-pileser, on his expedition to Akkad, destroyed Bit-Amukani and captured Ukinzer. Ukinzer reigned three years over Babylon. Tiglath-pileser took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

In the second year, in the month Tebet, Tiglath-pileser died. Tiglath-pileser reigned * * * years over Akkad and Assyria; two years he reigned in Akkad. On the twenty-fifth day of the month Tebet, Shalmaneser took his seat on the throne in Assyria. He destroyed the city Shabara'in (or Shamara'in?).

In the fifth year, in the month Tebet, Shalmaneser died. Shalmaneser reigned five years over Akkad and Assyria. On the twelfth day of Tebet, Sargon took his seat on the throne in Assyria. In the month Nisan, Merodachbaladan took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

In the second year of Merodachbaladan, Ummanigash, King of Elam, fought a battle against Sargon, King of Assyria, in the district of Durilu, invaded Assyria and routed them completely. Merodachbaladan, with his army, who had come to the help of the King of Elam, did not come in time for the battle, but joined (?) him later.

In the fifth year of Merodachbaladan, Ummanigash died. Ummanigash reigned * * * years over Elam * * * Kudur, son of his sister, took his seat on the throne in Elam * * * Merodach(?)baladan(?) * * * to the tenth year * * *

[Lines badly broken.]

In the [twelfth] year [of Merodachbaladan], Sargon marched down to Akkad and fought [against Merodachbaladan; and] Merodach[baladan at the head of his nobles fled to Elam. Merodachbaladan reigned over Babylon] twelve years. Sargon took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

In the thirteenth year Sargon took the hand of Bel (and) captured Duriaku.

In the fourteenth year the king (remained) in (his) country.

In the fifteenth year, on the twenty-second day of the month Tishrit, the gods of the Sea Land were restored * * * feasts (?) were instituted.

[In the sixteenth year Sar]gon [marched] to the land of Tabalu.

[Lines badly broken.]

The Babylonians were not scattered. The territory * * * he enlarged. Merodachbaladan and * * * He plundered his country * * * Having fortified (?) Larak and Sharraba * * * he set Belibni on the throne in Babylon.

In the first year of Belibni, Sennacherib destroyed the cities Hirimma and Hararatum.

In the third year of Belibni, Sennacherib marched down to Akkad and plundered Akkad. Belibni and his nobles

were led away to Assyria. Belibni reigned three years over Babylon. Sennacherib set his (own) son Ashurnadinshum on the throne in Babylon.

In the first year of Ashurnadinshum, Ishtarhundu, King of Elam, seized his brother Hallushu and imprisoned him. Ishtarhundu reigned eighteen years over Elam. Hallushu, his brother, took his seat on the throne in Elam.

In the sixth year of Ashurnadinshum, Sennacherib marched down to Elam, destroyed the cities Nagitu, Hilmu, Pillatu, and Hupapanu, and plundered them. Afterward Hallushù, King of Elam, marched to Akkad. At the end (?) of the month Tishrit (?) he entered Sippar (and) killed people. Shamash did not leave Ebabbara. Ashurnadinshum was taken captive and led away to Elam. Ashurnadinshum reigned six years over Babylon. The King of Elam set Nergalushezib on the throne in Babylon and invaded Assyria.

In the first year of Nergalushezib, on the sixteenth day of the month Tammuz, Nergalushezib took Nippur (?) * * * On the first day of the month Tishrit the Assyrian army entered Erech, (and) spoiled the gods of Erech and its people. Nergalushezib followed the Elamites. The gods of Erech and its people were carried away. On the eighth day of the month Tishrit he fought against the Assyrians in the district of Nippur, was captured in open battle, and led to Assyria. Nergalushezib reigned one year and six months over Babylon * * * On the twenty-sixth day * * * the people rebelled against Hallushu, King of Elam, imprisoned and killed him. Hallushu reigned six years over Elam. Kudur took his seat on the throne in Elam. After that Sennacherib marched down to Elam, devastated and plundered it from the land of Rashi to Bit-Burnaki. Mushezib-Marduk took his seat on the throne in Babylon.

In the first year of Mushezib-Marduk, on the eighteenth (or twenty-eighth?) day of the month Ab, Kudur, King of Elam, was taken captive in a revolt and killed. Kudur reigned ten months over Elam. Menanu took his seat on the throne in Elam. In an unknown year Menanu col-

lected the forces of Elam and Akkad, and in Halule attacked and invaded Assyria.

In the fourth year of Mushezib-Marduk, on the fifteenth day of the month Nisan, Menanu, King of Elam, was overpowered, his mouth was stopped and he could not speak. On the first day of the month Kislev the city was captured. Mushezib-Marduk was taken captive and led away to Assyria. Mushezib-Marduk reigned four years over Babylon. On the seventeenth day of the month Adar, Menanu, King of Elam, died. Menanu reigned four years over Elam. Hummahaldash took his seat on the throne in Elam.

In the eighth year there was no king in Babylon. On the third day of the month Tammuz the gods of Erech returned to Erech from Eridu. On the twenty-third day of the month Tishrit, Hummahaldash, King of Elam, was overpowered with fire and died in * * * Hummahaldash reigned eight years over Elam. Hummahaldash II took his seat on the throne in Elam. On the twentieth day of the month Tebet, Sennacherib, King of Assyria, was killed by his son in a revolt. Sennacherib reigned [twenty-three] years over Assyria. From the twentieth day of Tebet to the second day of Adar the revolt continued in Assyria. On the eighteenth day of the month Sivan, Esarhaddon, his son, took his seat on the throne in Assyria.

In the first year of Esarhaddon, Zerkenishlishir, of the Sea Land, having arisen (?), encamped (?) against Ur * * * Before the Assyrian officers he fled, and [went ?] to Elam * * * In Elam the King of Elam seized him and [killed him] with the sword. In an unknown month in Nippur, the Tig-En-Na * * *

In the month Elul the god Kadi and the gods [of Durilu] came to Durilu [* * * and the gods of Dursharrukin] came to Dursharrukin * * * In the month Adar * * *

In the second year the major-domo * * * -aheshullim * * * the Tig-En-Na * * * were brought to Assyria and killed in Assyria. * * * Sidon was captured, and its spoil

carried away * * * The major-domo called an assembly in Akkad.

In the fifth year, on the second day of the month Tishrit, the Assyrian army conquered Bazza (Swamp-land?). In the month Tishrit the head of the Sidonian king was cut off and brought to Assyria. In the month Adar the head of the king of the lands Kundu and Sisu was cut off and brought to Assyria.

In the sixth year the King of Elam entered Sippar and made a massacre. Shamash did not leave Ebabbara. The Assyrian army marched to Meluhha. Hummahaldash, King of Elam, died in his palace without being sick. Hummahaldash reigned five years over Elam. Urtagu, his brother, took his seat on the throne in Elam. In an unknown month Shumiddin, the Tig-En-Na, and Kudur, son of Dakuri, were brought to Assyria.

In the seventh year, on the fifth day of the month Adar, the Assyrian army marched to Egypt. In Adar, Ishtar of Agade and the gods of Agade came from Elam and entered Agade on the tenth day of Adar.

In the eighth year of Esarhaddon, in the month Tebet—the day obliterated—the land of Rurisa was conquered, and its spoil carried away. In the month Kislev its spoil reached Erech. On the eighth day of the month Adar the wife of the king died.

In the tenth year, in the month Nisan, the Assyrian army marched to Egypt. On the third, sixteenth, and eighteenth days of the month Tammuz—three times—a battle was fought in Egypt. On the twelfth day Memphis, its (i. e., Egypt's) royal city, was captured, its king escaped, his son * * * its spoil was carried away, the people * * * its property * * *

[In the eleventh year the king remained] in Assyria. He killed [many of] the nobles with the sword.

In the twelfth year the Assyrian king marched to Eygpt, became sick on the way, and died on the tenth day of the month Marcheshvan. Esarhaddon reigned twelve years over Assyria. His two sons took their seat

on the throne: in Babylon, Shamashshumukin; in Assyria, Ashurbanipal.

In the first year of Shamashshumukin, in the month Iyyar, Bel and the gods of Akkad left the city Asshur and reached Babylon in Iyyar. In the same year the King of Kirbitu was captured. On the twentieth day of the month Tebet, Beleter * * * was captured and killed in Babylon.

Part first—revised and prepared after its original. Table of Anabeleresh, son of Liblutu, son of Kalab-Nannar for Yaddin, son of Anabeleresh, son of Kalab-Nannar. Babylon, on the fifth day of the month * * * in the twenty-second year of Darius, King of Babylon and countries.

893. * * * shar * * *
892. Ninib-zar * * *
891. Tab-etir-[Ashur].
890. [As]hur-ladu (?).
889. Tukulti - Ninib, the king.
888. Takkil-ana-beli[a].
887. Abu-Malik.
886. Ilu-milki.
885. Yari.
884. Ashur-shezibani.
883. Ashur - naçir - pal, the king.
882. Ashur-iddin.
881. * * * uttiaku.[1]
880. Sha-(ilu)MA-damqa.
879. Dakan-bel-naçir.
878. Ninib-pia-uçur.
877. Ninib-bel-uçur.
876. Shangu-Ashur-lilbur.
875. Shamash-upahir.
874. Nergal-bel-kumua.
873. Qurdi-Ashur.
872. Ashur-li'u.
871. Ashur-natkil.
870. Bel-mudammiq.
869. Dain-Ninib.
868. Ishtar * * *
867. Shamash-nuri.
866. Mannu-dan-ana-ili.
865. Shamash-bel-uçur.
864. Ninib-malik.
863. Ninib-etiranni.
862. Ashur-malik.
861. Nergal-IÇ-KA-danin.
860. Tab-Bel.
859. Shar-kalab-nishe.[2]
858. Shulmanu - asharidu (=Shalmaneser), the king.
857. Ashur-bel-ukinni.
856. Ashur-bania-uçur.
855. Abu-ina-ekal-lilbur.
854. Dain-Ashur.
853. Shamash-abua.
852. Shamash-bel-uçur.
851. Bel-bania.
850. Hadil-epushu.
849. Nergal-alik-pani.
848. Bur-(ilu)-Ramana.[3]
847. Ninib-mukin-nishe.
846. Ninib-nadin-shum.
845. Ashur-bania.
844. Tab-Ninib.
843. Takkil-ana-sharri.
842. Ramman-rimani.
841. Bel-abua.
840. Shulmu-bel-lamur.
839. Ninib-kibsi-uçur.

[1] Var. Imut (? or Mit ?) aku.
[2] Schrader: Shar-UR-nishe.
[3] Var. Bur-Raman and Bir-Raman.

838. Ninib-malik.
837. Qurdi-Ashur.
836. Ner-shar.
835. Nergal-mudamiq.
834. Yahalu.
833. Ululai.
832. Sharpati-Bel.
831. Nergal-malik.
830. Hu-(Bak?)-ba-a.
829. Ilu-mukin-ahi.
828. Shulmanu - asharidu (Shalmaneser), the king.
827. Dain-Ashur.
826. Ashur-bania-uçur.
825. Yahalu.
824. Bel-bania.
823. Shamshi-Ramman, the king.
822. Yahalu.
821. Bel-dan.
820. Ninib-upahhir.
819. Shamash-malik.
818. Nergal-malik.
817. Ashur-bania-uçur.
816. Sharpati-Bel.
815. Bel-balat.
814. Mushiknish.
813. Ninib-asharidu.
812. Shamash-kumua.
811. Bel-qat-çabat.
810. Ramman - nirari, the king.
809. Nergal-malik.
808. Bel-dan.
807. Çil-Bel.
806. Ashur-takkil.
805. Ilu-ittia.
804. Nergal-eresh.
803. Ashur-kalab-nishe.
802. Ninib-malik.
801. Ner-shar.
800. AN- * * *
799. Mutakkil- * * *
798. Bel-tarçi(ilu)MA.
797. Ashur-bel-uçur.
796. Marduk-shadua.
795. Ukin-abua.
794. Mannuki (mat) Ashur.
793. Mushallim-Ninib.
792. Bel-iqishani.
791. Ner-Shamash.
790. Ninib-ukin-ahi.
789. Ramman-mushammir.
788. Çil-Ishtar.
787. Balatu.
786. Ramman-uballit.
785. Marduk-shar-uçur.
784. Nabu-shar-uçur.
783. Ninib-naçir.
782. (ilu)MA-li'u.
781. Shulmanu - asharidu (Shalmaneser), the king.
780. Shamshi-ilu.
779. Marduk-rimani.
778. Bel-lishir.
777. Nabu-ishid-ukin.
776. Pan-Ashur-lamur.[1]
775. Nergal-eresh.
774. Ishtar-duri.
773. Mannuki-Ramman.
772. Ashur-bel-uçur.
771. Ashur-dan, the king.
770. Shamshi-ilu.

[1] Var. Pan-Ashur-amaru.

769. Bel-malik.
768. Apliya.
767. Qurdi-Ashur.
766. Mushallim-Ninib.
765. Ninib-ukin-nishe.
764. Çidqi-ilu.
763. Pur-AN-sagale.
762. Tab-Bel.
761. Nabu-ukin-ahi.
760. Laqibu.
759. Pan-Ashur-lamur.
758. Bel-takkil.
757. Ninib-iddin.
756. Bel-shadua.
755. Qisu.
754. Ninib-shezibani.
753. Ashur-nirari, the king.
752. Shamshi-ilu.
751. Marduk-shallima(n)ni.
750. Bel-dan.
749. Shamash-ittalak-SUN (?).
748. Ramman-bel-ukin.
747. Sin-shallima(n)ni.
746. Nergal-naçir.
745. Nabu-bel-uçur.
744. Bel-dan.
743. Tukulti-apal-Esharra (Tiglath-pileser) [the king].
742. Nabu-danina(n)ni.
741. Bel-Harran-bel-uçur.
740. Nabu-etiranni.
739. Sin-takkil.
738. Ramman-bel-ukin.
737. Bel-limura(n)ni.
736. Ninib-malik.
735. Ashur-shallima(n)ni.
734. Bel-dan.
733. Ashur-danina(n)ni.
732. Nabu-bel-uçur.
731. Nergal-uballit.
730. Bel-ludari.
729. Naphar-ilu.
728. Dur-Ashur.
727. Bel-Harran-bel-uçur.
726. Marduk-bel-uçur.
725. Mahde.
724. Ashur-hal- * * *
723. Shulmanu-asharidu.
722. Ninib-malik.
721. Nabu-tariç.
720. Ashur-IÇ-KA-danin.
719. Sharru-ukin (Sargon).
718. Zer-bani.
717. Tab-shar(?)-Ashur.
716. Tab-çil-Esharra.
715. Takkil-ana-Bel.
714. Ishtar-duri.
713. Ashur-bani.
712. Sharru-limura(n)ni.
711. Ninib-alik-pani.
710. Shamash-bel-uçur.
709. Mannuki-Ashur-li'u.
708. Shamash-upahhir.
707. Sha-Ashur-du(ub)bu.
706. Mutakkil-Ashur.
705. Upahhir(ra)-Bel.[1]
704. Nabu-dini-epush.[2]
703. Kançil(?)ar.

[1] Canon II, (*a*) [Sin-]ahe-erba, the king; (*b*) Upahhirra-Bel. Canon V 10, An assassin murdered the King of Assyria. Canon V 11, On the twelfth day of the month Ab, Sin-ahe-erba [? took his seat on the throne?].

[2] Canon IV, (*a*) Sin-ahe-erba, King of Assyria; (*b*) Nabu-dini-epush.

702. Nabu-li'u.
701. Hananu.
700. Metunu.
699. Bel-shara(n)ni.
698. Shulmu - (Shulum-)-shar.
697. Nabu-dur-uçur.
696. (Tab?)-Bel.
695. Ashur-bel-uçur.[1]
694. Ilu-ittia.
693. Nadin(i)-ah.
692. Za(Ça)za(Ça)ai(aku?).
691. Bel-limura(n)ni.
690. Nabu-mukin-ah.
689. Gihilu.
688. Nadin-ahi.
687. Sin-ahe-erba.[2]
686. Bel-limura(n)ni.
685. Ashur-danina(n)ni.
684. Mannu-zir(or zar)-ni.
683. Mannuki-Ramman.
682. Nabu-shar-uçur.
681. Nabu-ah-eresh.
[Esar]haddon took his seat on the throne.
680. Dana(a)nu.
679. Ishtu-Ramman-aninu.
678. Nergal-shar-uçur.
677. Abu-rama (or ramu).
676. Bam(or Ban-)ba.
675. Nabu-ahe-iddin.
674. Sharru-nuri.
673. Atar-ilu.
672. Nabu-bel-uçur.
671. Tebeta.
670. Shulmu-bel-lashme (or -lash?shib?).
669. Shamash-kashid-abi.
668. Mar-larmi (or Mar-larim).
667. Gabbaru.
666. * * * a.

[A break follows.]

(?). Belu-na'id.
(?). Tabu * * *
(?). Arba-[ila].
(?). Girza-[buna].
(?). Silim-[Ashur?].

ASSYRIAN EPONYM-LIST, WITH NOTES

860. * * * when Shulmanu-asharidu (Shalmaneser), son of Ashurnaçirpal, [took his seat on the throne].
859. In the eponym-year of Sharru-kalab-nishe * * * to * * *
858. In the eponym-year of Shulmanu-asharidu, King of Assyria * * *
857. In the eponym-year of

[1] Smith and Delitzsch, Nabu-.
[2] Canon III, Ashur-ahe-[erba].

Ashur-bel-ukin, the commander-in-chief * * *

856. In the eponym-year of Ashur - bana - uçur, the rab-BI-LUḪ * * *

855. In the eponym-year of Ashur - ina - ekalli - lilbur, the major-domo, (?) * * *

854. In the eponym-year of Dain-Ashur, the commander-in-chief * * *

853. In the eponym-year of Shamash-abua, the governor of the city Naçibna (Nisibis), * * *

852. In the eponym-year of Shamash-bel-uçur, of the city Kalah * * *

851. In the eponym-year of Bel-bana(?), the major-domo * * *

850. In the eponym-year of Hadil-ebushu, of the city * * *

849. In the eponym-year of Nergal-alik-mahri * * *

848. In the eponym-year of Bir(ilu)Ramana * * *

[A break after 848.]

842. * * *

841. * * * of the city of Ahi-Zuhina. To [the land of Tilli(?)]e.[1]

840. * * * of the land Raçappa (Razeph). To the land (?) of * * * hi.

839. * * * of the city Ahi]-Zuhina. To the land of Danabi.

838. * * * of the land of] Shallat (?). To the land of Tabala.

837. * * * of the land of Kir]ruri. To the land of Melidi (Melitene).

836. * * * of the city Nineveh. To the land of Namri (Namar).

835. * * * (amelu)] itu. To the land of Que.

834. * * * of the city Kakzi (? or Kalzi ?). To the land of Que * * * to the land of Que. The great god went out from Der.

833. * * * To the land of Urartu (Armenia).

832. * * * To the land of Unqi.

831. * * * To the land of Ulluba.

830. * * * To the land of Manna.

829. * * * A revolt.

828. * * * A revolt.

827. * * * A revolt.

826. * * * A revolt.

825. * * * A revolt.

824. * * * A revolt.

817. [Ashur - bania - uçur]. To the land of Tillie (?).

816. [Sharpati-Bel, of the

[1] That is, an expedition to N. N.

city Na]çibina. To the land of Zarati.

815. [Bel-balat, of * * *]. To Der. The great god went to Der.

814. [Mushiknish, of the land of] Kirruri. To the land of Ihsana.

813. [Nergal-malik, the commander-in]-chief. To the land of Kaldu.

812. [Shamash-kumua, of the land of] Arbaha. To Babylon.

811. [Bel-kàta-çabit, of] Mazamua. In the land.[1]

810. [Ramman-nirari, King of] Assyria. To Media.

809. [Nergal-malik, the commander-in]-chief. To the city Guzana.

808. [Bel-dan] * * * the major-domo. To the land of Manna.

807. Çil-Bel, the rab-Bi-Lub. To the land of Manna.

806. [Ashur-takkil] the minister (?). To the land of Arpadda.

805. [Ilu-ittia, an officer of] the land. To the city Hazazu.

804. [Nergal-eresh, of the land of Ra]çappa. To the city of Balu.

803. [Ashur-kalab-nishe, of the land of Ar]baha. To the sea-coast. A plague.

802. [Ninib-malik, of the city A]hi-Zuhina. To the city Hubushkia.

801. [Ner-shar, of Na]çibina. To Media.

800. [AN * * * of the city Amedi. To Media.

799. [Mutakkil * * *] the officer * * * of (?) the rab-shaks. To the land of Lusia.

798. [Bel-tarçi-(ilu)MA, of the city] Kalah. To the land of Namri.

797. [Ashur-bel-uçur, of the land of] Kirruri. To the city Mançuate.

796. [Marduk-shadua, of the land of] Shallat. To the city Der.

795. [Ukin-abua, of the land of] Tushhan. To the city Der.

794. [Mannuki-Ashur, of the city] Guzana. To Media.

793. [Mushallim-Ninib, of the land of Tillie]. To Media.

792. [Bel-ikishani, of the city] Mehinish. To the city Hubushkia.

791. [Ner-Shamash, of the

[1] That is, the king remained in the land. No expedition was undertaken.

land of] Isana. To the land of Itua.

790. [Ninib - ukin - ahi, of the city] Nineveh. To Media.

789. [Ramman - mushammir, of the city] Kakzi (?). To Media.

788. [Çil - Ishtar, of * * * KI] kar-ru (?).

787. [Balatu, of * * *]. To Media. Nabu entered the new temple.

786. [Ramman - uballit, of the city Ri]musi. To the land of Ki-is(?)ki.

785. [Marduk - shar - uçur. To the land of] Hubushkia. The great god went to the city Der.

784. [Nabu - shar - uçur, of the city Kur(?)ba-an. To the land of Hubushkia.

783. [Ninib-naçir, of the city] Mazamua. To the land of Itu.

782. [(ilu) MA-li'u, of the city Naçib]ina. To the land of Itu.

781. [Shulmanu - asharidu, King of Assyria. To the land of Urartu (Armenia).

780. [Shamshi-ilu, the commander]-in-chief. To the land of Urartu.

779. [Marduk - rimani the rab]-BI-LUB. To the land of Urartu.

778. [Bel - lishir, the major-]domo. To the land of Urartu.

777. [Nabu-ishid-ukin] the minister (?). To the land of Itu.

776. [Pan - Ashur - lamur], the governor of the land. To the land of Urartu.

775. [Nergal-eresh, of the land of Ra]çappa. To the land of cedars (Amanus).

774. [Ishtar-duri, of the city Naçi]bina. To the lands of Urartu (and) Namri.

773. [Mannuki - Ramman, of the land (?) of] Shallat (?). To the city Damascus.

772. [Ashur - bel - uçur, of the city Kalah. To the land of Hatarika (Hadrach).

771. [Ashur-dan, King of As]syria. To the city Gananati.

770. [Shamshi-ilu, the commander] - in - chief. To the city Marad.

769. [Bel-Malik, of the land of] Arbaha. To the land of Itu.

768. [Apliya, of the city Ma]zamua. In the land.

767. [Qurdi-Ashur, of the city Ah]i-Zuhina. To the land of Gananati.

766. [Mushallim-Ninib, of the city] Tile (?). To Media.

765. [Ninib-mukin-nishe, of] the land of Kirruri. To the land of Hatarika. A plague.

764. [Çidki-ilu, of] the land of Tushhan. In the land.

763. [Pur-(ilu)-Sagale (?) o]f the city Guzana. A revolt in the city Asshur. In the month Sivan an eclipse of the sun took place.

762. [Tab-Bel, o]f the city Amedi. A revolt in the city Asshur.

761. [Ninib-mukin-ahi, o]f the city Nineveh. A revolt in the city Arbaha.

760. [Laqibu, o]f the city Kakzi (?). A revolt in the city Arbaha.

759. [Pan-Ashur-lamur, of] the city Arba-ilu (Arbela). A revolt in the city Guzana. A plague.

758. [Bel-takkil, of] the city Isana. To the city Guzana. Peace in the land.

757. [Ninib-iddin, of the ci]ty Kur(?)ban. In the land.

756. [Bel-shadua, of the city] Parnunna (?). In the land.

755. [Qisu, of the city] Mehinish. To the land of Hatarika.

754. [Ninib-shezibani, of the city] Rimusi. To the land[1] of Arpadda. Return from the city Asshur.

753. [Ashur-nirari, the King of] Assyria. In the land.

752. [Shamshi-ilu, the commander]-in-chief. In the land.

751. [Marduk-shallima(n)-ni, the major-]domo. In the land.

750. [Bel-dan the rab-BI]-LUB (?). In the land.

749. [Shamash-ittalak-SUN (?)] the minister (?). To the land of Namri.

748. [Ramman-bel-ukin], officer (?) of the land. To the land of Namri.

747. [Sin-shallima(n)ni, of the land of] Raçappa. In the land.

746. [Nergal-naçir, of] the city Naçibina. A revolt in the city Kalah.

745. [Nabu-bel-uçur, of] the city Arbaha. On the thirteenth day of the month Iyyar Tukulti-

[1] Variation: To the city Arpadda.

apal-Esharra (Tiglath-pileser) took his seat on the throne. In the month Tishrit he marched to the territory between the rivers.

744. [Bel-dan, of the city] Kalah. To the land of Namri.

743. [Tukulti-apal-Esharra, K]ing of Assyria. In the city Arpadda. A massacre took place in the land of Urartu (Armenia).

742. [Nabu - danina(n)ni], the commander-in-chief. To the city Arpadda.

741. [Bel - Harran - bel - uçur], the major-domo. To the same city. Conquered in three years.

740. [Nabu-etira(n)ni], the rab-BI-LUB. To the city Arpadda.

739. [Sin-takkil], the minister (?). To the land of Ulluba.[1] A fortress occupied.

738. [Ramman - bel - ukin], the governor. The city Gullani captured.

737. [Bel - limura(n)ni], of the land Raçappa. To Media.

736. [Ninib-malik], of Naçibina. To the foot of Nal Mountains.

735. [Ashur-shallima(n)ni,] of the land Arbaha. To the land of Urartu.

734. [Bel-dan], of the city Kalah. To the land of Pilishta.

733. [Ashur - danina(n)ni], of the city Mazamua. To the land of Damascus.

732. [Nabu - bel - uçur], of the city Sime. To the land of Damascus.

731. [Nergal - uballit], of the city Ahi-Zuhina. To the city Sapiya.

730. [Bel - ludari], of the city Tile (?). In the land.

729. [Naphar-ilu], of the land Kirruri. The king seized the hands of Bel.

728. [Dur-Ashur], of the city Tushhan. The king seized the hands of Bel. The city * * *

727. [Bel - Harran - bel - uçur], of the city Guzana. To the city * * * [Shulmanu]-asharidu [took his seat] on the throne.

726. [Marduk-bel-uçur, of the city Ame]di. In the land.

725. [Mahde, of the city] Nineveh. To * * *

724. [Ashur-hal- * * * of city Kak]zi (?). To * * *

[1] Schrader: The city Birtu (birtu = fortress).

723. [Shulmanu - asharidu, King of Assyria]. T[o * * *
* * *
* * *
720. * * * ru.
719. * * * en]tered.
718. * * * to the land of Ta]bala.
717. * * * du?karru?.
716. * * * Iranz]u, of Manna.
715. * * * prefects were appointed.
714. * * * the cities Muçaçir (and) Haldia.
713. * * * the nobles in the land of Ellip.
712. * * * Bel (?) entered.
711. * * * the city Muçaçir.
710. * * * In the land. * * * To the city Marqasa.
709. * * * To the city Bit-Zer-naid. The king at Kish?biedi? * * * Sharru-ukin (Sargon) seized the hands of Bel.
708. * * * ri (?). The city Kumuha captured. A prefect appointed.
707. [* * * eponym-year of Sha-Ashur-dubbu, governor of the city Tushha]n. The king returned from Babylon * * * from (?) the city Dur-Yakin went forth.
706. * * * The city Dur-Yakin destroyed * * * their temples they entered.
705. * * * In the land of Karalla * * * ? mahra?.

Fragment of a Similar List

708. Eponym-year of Shamash-upahhir * * * The nobles to the city Kumuh(hi) * * *
707. Eponym-year of Sha-Ashur - dubbu, governor of the city Tushhan. The king returned from Babylon. The palaces and * * * On the twenty-second day of the month Tishrit the gods of Dur-sharru-ukin * * *
706. Eponym-year of Mutakkil - Ashur, the governor of the city Guzana. The king * * * On the sixth day of the month Iyyar the city Dur-sharru-ukin * * *
705. Eponym-year of Upahhir-Bel, the governor of the city Amedi * * * According to the oracle (?) the Kulummaites * * * An assassin murdered the

King of Assyria * * * On the twelfth day of the month Ab, Sin-ahe-erba[1] [took his seat on the throne].

704. Eponym - year of Nabu-dini-epush, the governor of the city Nineveh * * * the cities Larak (?) and Sarabanu * * * the palace of the city Kakzu built * * *

[1] Sennacherib.

LETTERS

THE TEL-EL-AMARNA LETTERS

I. LETTER FROM AMENOPHIS III, KING OF EGYPT, TO KADASHMAN-BEL, KING OF KARDUNIASH

(Northern Babylonia or Assyria)

This is the only known letter of Amenophis III. It is written in the Babylonian script, and is addressed to a king unknown before the discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna letters.

TO Kadashman-Bel, King of Karduniash, my brother, thus says Nibmuaria [Amenophis], the great king, the King of Egypt, thy brother: I am well. May it be well with thee, with thy house, with thy wives, with thy children, with thy nobles, thy horses, thy chariots, and in thy lands may there be an abundance of peace! I am well; with my house, with my wives, with my children, with my nobles, my horses, my chariots, my people it is very well, and in my lands there is an abundance of peace.

I have indeed noted the word that thou didst write me—namely, "Thou verily desirest my daughter to wife, but from the time my father gave thee my sister to wife, no one has seen her (and no one knows) whether she is alive or whether she is dead." These are thy words which thou didst write me in thy letter. But thou hast never sent a wise man who was acquainted with thy sister, who could have conversed with her, or who could have recognised her, and could have conversed with her. [Here follow eight lines obscure and mutilated.]

And when thou writest thus: "When thou givest orders to my messengers and to thy wives to assemble in thy presence, and when thou [Amenophis] sayest to the messengers, 'Behold your lady, who stands before you,' my messengers do not recognise her as my sister, who is with thee." Anent the fact that thou writest thus: "My messengers do not identify her," [I answer], "Who then can identify her?" pray tell. Why dost thou not send a wise man who could bring back a genuine greeting from thy sister? Command, now, that (some) one should come and examine her household, and her relation to the king. And when thou writest thus: "Who knows whether she is the daughter of a beggar, or of a Gagayan, or a daughter of the land of Hanigalbat, or who knows whether she is from the land of Ugarit, she whom my messengers see? And who can inform them, that she who is with thee * * * not * * * or what could he not tell them?" Such are thy words. If thy sister were dead, why should it be concealed * * * [Seven lines here are hopelessly mutilated] * * * in Egypt, and when thou writest thus: "Daughters * * * to wife for kings of Kar[duniash], and whether * * * when my messengers go there and converse with her * * * they should bring me a greeting (from her), (as evidence that) she is with thee." Such are thy words. When the kings of thy vicinity, great kings, take thy daughters (to wife), do they send thee everything that they have, or that she has? When thy sister, who is with me, receives anything, then I will send it to you as a token of esteem, for thou mightest give thy daughters to the ra-hul-ta, of thy vicinity. And when thou writest that I have disregarded the words of my father, thou dost not give his very words—"Establish genuine brotherhood between us." These words that thou writest are thine own words. Brothers, indeed, art thou and I, we two, but I am offended at thy messengers because they reported to thee as follows: "He gave us nothing whatever." Whoever comes to Egypt, (and) they come before me, or, if only one of them comes, he receives silver,

gold, oil, garments, every possible favour * * * another land. And when he reports * * * the first time messengers came to thy father, they became offensive, and carried back an evil report. The second time they came they (also) returned an evil report; and so I say, whether I had given them anything, or whether I had given them nothing, they would have made the same report. And I did them (only good), and did not (withhold anything) from them.

And when thou writest thus: "Thou spakest to my messengers as follows: 'Has not (thy) lord soldiers? and the damsel thou gavest me is not beautiful.'" These are thy words. Thy messengers have not reported to thee the facts in the case. Whether they reported that thou hadst or hadst not soldiers, why should I have asked him (them) whether thou hadst people, (or) whether thou hadst horses? But do not listen to the evil reports of the messengers whom thou sendest, for on account of their fear of thee they report falsely to escape (punishment at) thy hand. When thou sayest: "He has put my chariots among the chariots of his officers, so that the foreigner who should bring them back to my land could not distinguish them." But the foreigner, who was thine own (subject), did not distinguish them, and (still) the chariots were thine. (As to) the horses of my land, the chariots require all of my horses. When thou writest, by the hand of Rika, to furnish oil for * * * to the damsel, thou writest for a gift * * *

II. LETTER FROM KADASHMAN-BEL, KING OF KARDUNIASH, TO NIMMURIA (AMENOPHIS III), KING OF EGYPT

To Nimmuria, King of Egypt, my brother, as follows: Kadashman-Bel, King of Karduniash, thy brother.

May it be well with thee, with thy house, with thy wives, with thy land, with thy chariots, with thy horses, with thy nobles, may it be very well!

As for the damsel, my daughter, for the marriage of whom thou hast written me, she is mature and marriageable; send (messengers) and let her be taken. In former times, when my father sent a messenger to thee, thou didst not detain him many days, but promptly sent him back, and thou didst also send my father a good present.

Now, when I sent my messenger to thee, six years long thou didst detain him, and in six years thou hast sent me as a present (only) thirty minas of gold, which is like silver. This very gold was tested in the presence of thy messenger, and he saw (the test). When thou didst plan a great feast, thou didst not send thy messenger to say, "Come, now * * * and (bring) a present appropriate for the feast." These thirty minas of gold which thou didst send are (merely) a present for * * * [The remaining lines are mutilated.]

III. LETTER FROM BURRABURIASH, KING OF KARDUNIASH, TO AMENOPHIS IV, KING OF EGYPT

Shortly after the latter's accession to the throne

To Niphuriria [Amenophis], King of Egypt, as follows: Burraburiash, King of Karduniash, thy brother. It is well with me. With thee, thy house, thy wives, thy sons, thy country, thy nobles, thy horses, thy chariots, may it be very well!

(Ever) since my father and thy father sustained friendly relations with one another, they exchanged valuable presents, and the choicest desire, each of the other, they did not refuse. Now, my brother has sent me as a present (only) two manehs of gold; but send me as much gold as thy father [Amenophis III] (would have sent). And if it be less, let it be half of what thy father would send. Why didst thou send me only two manehs of gold? Now, the work of (repairing) the temple is great; and vigorously have I undertaken its completion; (therefore) send me

much gold. And whatever thou mayest desire out of my country, send, that it may be delivered to thee.

In the time of Kurigalzu, my father, the Canaanites as a body sent to him as follows: "Against the frontier of the land, let us march, and invade it. Let us make an alliance with thee." Then my father sent them this (reply), as follows: "Cease (trying) to form an alliance with me. If you cherish hostility against the King of Egypt, my brother, and bind yourselves together (with an oath), as for me, shall I not come and plunder you?—for he is in alliance with me." My father, for the sake of thy father, did not heed them. Now, (as to) the Assyrians, my own subjects, did I not send thee (word) concerning their matters? Why has (an embassy) entered thy country? If thou lovest me, let them have no good fortune. Let them secure no (advantage) whatever.

As a present I send thee three manehs of lapis lazuli and five spans of horses for five wooden chariots.

IV. LETTER FROM TUSHRATTA, KING OF MITANI, TO AMENOPHIS III, KING OF EGYPT

This is the choicest and finest of the British Museum collection, and almost perfectly preserved

To Nimmuria [Amenophis III], the great king, King of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, who loves me, and whom I love, as follows: Tushratta, the great king, (thy) father-in-law, who loves thee, the King of Mitani, thy brother. I am well. May it be well with thee; with thy house, with my sister, and thy other wives, with thy sons, with thy chariots, with thy horses, with thy great men, with thy country and with all thy possessions may it be exceedingly well!

In early times, thy fathers maintained friendly relations with my fathers; thou hast, however, multiplied them, and with my father thou hast been on exceedingly friendly terms. Now, since thou and I are on terms of friendship,

thou hast made it tenfold stronger than (that maintained between thy father and) my father.

May the gods cause this our friendship to prosper! May Tishub-Bel and Amun decree that (it) perpetually endure as it is now!

When my brother sent his messenger, Mani, (with a despatch reading) thus: "My brother, send me thy daughter to be my wife, to be mistress of Egypt," I did not make my brother heart-sick, but continually played the part of a friend. And as my brother desired, I presented her to Mani. And he looked upon her; and when he had seen her he rejoiced very greatly. When he brings her in safety to the land of my brother may Ishtar and Amun make her in accord with my brother's desire!

Gilia, my messenger, has brought me my brother's message; when I heard it it was exceedingly good, and I rejoiced greatly, and said, "For my part, even if friendly relations with my brother had ceased, we would, on the basis of this message, be friends forever."

Now, when I wrote my brother and said, "For my part, we will be fast friends, and mutually helpful," I said to my brother, "May my brother increase (our friendship) tenfold beyond that (maintained) with my father!"

And I made a request of my brother for much gold in the following words: "Let my brother assign to me more than (was assigned) to my father, and let him send it to me. Thou didst send my father much gold; a namhar (vessel) of royal gold, a kiru (vessel) of royal gold, didst thou send him, (but) a tablet of gold that is as if it were alloyed with copper hast thou sent me."

When I sent Gilia to my brother, and requested of him gold in the following terms: "As for me, let my brother assign me more than (was assigned) to my father, and let him send me much gold, even without measure. May my brother send me more than (was sent) my father!" And I also spake to my brother as follows: "Thy munition which my grandfather had prepared I will diligently forward (!) and also will complete the order (for the instru-

ments)." I spoke also as follows: "The gold that my brother sends, let it be sent as the dowry for a wife." When my brother sent me gold, and (when) I asked, "Is it too little or not?" it was not too little, but in great plenty, and answered the required specifications. And when it answered so fully the requirements, I greatly rejoiced over it, and over everything that my brother sent I was very happy.

Now, then, I have written to my brother, and may my brother, beyond (his love) to my father, increase his love to me! I have, indeed, asked gold of my brother, and the gold that I ask of my brother I desire for two purposes: in the first place for thy munition, and secondly for a wife. Let my brother (then) send me gold in great abundance, even without measure, and let him send more gold to me than (was formerly sent) to my father. For in the land of my brother gold is as (plentiful as) dust. May the gods so order that, while gold is now abundant in the land of my brother, he may increase its abundance tenfold! But let not the gold that I request distress my brother, and let not my brother distress me. So let my brother send me gold in abundance, without measure. And whatsoever my brother desires for his house let him send, and get it, for I will grant every request (!) that my brother makes. For this land is my brother's land, and this house is his house.

Now I send my messenger, Gilia, to my brother, and let my brother not detain him, but let him return in haste. As I, when I hear of the prosperity of my brother, greatly rejoice, may I always hear of the prosperity of my brother! And the messages that we send may Tishub, the lord, and Amanum so order, that they may accomplish their purpose, and may they always remain as they now are! As we are (now) on terms of cordial friendship, so may we as now, always remain cordial friends!

Now, as a present for my brother, one great golden vessel, ornamented (!) with lapis-lazuli stones * * * one heavy vessel ornamented (!) with twenty lapis-lazuli stones, and nineteen gold (ornaments); in the centre of these were

lapis lazuli chased in gold; another heavy vessel with forty-two hulalu-stones and forty gold (ornaments) * * * the centre was decked with hulalu-stones chased in gold. Ten span of horses, ten wooden chariots with all their appurtenances, and thirty women I have sent as a present to my brother.

V. LETTER FROM TUSHRATTA, KING OF MITANI, TO AMENOPHIS IV, KING OF EGYPT

To Naphuria, King of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, who loves me, and whom I love. Tushratta, King of Mitani, thy father-in-law, who loves thee, thy brother. With me it is well. May it be well with thee, with thy houses, thy mother Ti, and the land of Egypt, my daughter Tatuhipa, thy wife, thy other wives, thy sons, thy nobles, thy chariots, thy horses, thy cities, thy land, and with all thy possessions may it be very well!

Pirizzi and Bubri, my messengers, I sent to my brother as * * * and ordered them to express great sorrow. And then I sent them again. And this word, on the former occasion, I spake to my brother: "Mani, my brother's messenger, I will retain until my brother sends my messenger and (until) he arrives." * * * And now, my brother * * * has not sent them back, but has (rather) seriously detained them. The messengers should not wait at all, but they should hasten to return. Because of the messengers, why should I [distress] my brother? Why should we not each send [a messenger] to the other, to learn of the prosperity of the other, that we may daily (!) live in exceeding joy. Let my brother send my messenger at once, that I may know of my brother's prosperity * * * [About eight lines wanting] * * * (my messenger) I will send with a good message, and will hear a good message from my brother * * * and may my brother be gracious, and my brother * * * his whole heart, and may he not grieve my heart! And all the words which I spoke with thy father, Ti, thy

mother, knows, and no one else knows them. Therefore, I say, ask Ti, thy mother, about them. She will tell thee how thy father was on cordial terms with me; and so now my brother should be on cordial terms with me, and let my brother not listen to anything hostile thereto.

VI. A LETTER FROM THE KING OF ALASHIYA [CYPRUS!] TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the king of Egypt, my brother, as follows: The king of the land of Alashiya, thy brother. I am well; with my houses, my wife, my sons, my nobles, my horses, my chariots, and throughout my lands, may it be very well! And with my brother may it be well; with thy houses, thy wives, thy sons, thy nobles, thy horses, thy chariots, and throughout thy lands, may it be very well! My brother, I have just sent my messenger with thy messenger to Egypt. Now, my brother, I have sent thee five hundred (pieces of) bronze, I have sent them as a present to my brother. Let not my brother be offended because there is so little bronze; for in my land the hand of Nergal, my lord, has slain all the people of my land, and there is no more (production of!) bronze: and let my brother not be offended.

Send thy messenger in haste with my messenger (on his return), and whatever bronze thou desirest, my brother, I will send thee.

My brother, send me silver in great abundance; give me, my brother, silver as * * * And as for my brother, whatever thou, my brother, desirest, I will send thee.

Again, my brother, the ox for which my messenger asked thee, give me, my brother. And fine oil, my brother, two kukupu vessels, send me, my brother, also send me one of the conjuring (!) eagles.

Furthermore, my brother, the people of my land have contested with me with regard to taking my timber to the King of Egypt, and, my brother, asses, and * * *

And again, a man of Alashiya has died in the land of Egypt, and his property is in thy land, and his son and his wife are with me. Let my brother collect the property of the man of Alashiya, and put it, my brother, into the hand of my messenger.

Do not be offended, my brother, because thy messenger has been three years in my land, for the hand of Nergal is upon my land, and in my own house my wife gave birth to a child, which died.

Send thy messenger with my messenger in very great haste, and I will send thee an appropriate present.

And again, my brother, the silver for which I asked thee, let my brother send in large quantities! And the property (of the man of Alashiya), for which I asked, send. And all my desires of every kind, my brother, meet. And all thy desires made known to me I will satisfy.

With the king of the Hittites, and the King of Shanhar, even with them have nothing to do; as for me, whatever presents they have sent me I will return to thee twofold.

Thy messenger should come to me with authority, and my messenger should go to you with authority.

VII. LETTER FROM ABD-ASHRATU TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the king, the sun, my lord, as follows: Abd-Ashratu, thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of my lord, the king, seven times (and) seven times I prostrate myself. Indeed, I am the servant of the king, and the dog of his house, and the entire land of Amurri I am guarding for my lord, the king. I have requested Pahanti, my superior officer, again and again to furnish troops for the defence of the king's country. * * * [Several lines mutilated.] * * * May my lord, the king, ask him whether I do not defend the cities of Simyra and Ullaza! If my superior officer is in * * * of the king, the sun, then should I harvest the

grain of Simyra? For all the countries for the king, my sun, my lord, I defend. And let my lord, the king, know it; and he has put me under Pahanati, my superior officer.

VIII. LETTER FROM THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF DUNIP TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the King of Egypt, our lord: The inhabitants of the city of Dunip, thy servant(s). May it be well with thee; at the feet of our lord I (we) prostrate ourselves. My lord, the city of Dunip, thy servant speaks as follows: Who, in former times, could have plundered Dunip and escape being plundered by Manahbiria? * * * The gods and the * * * of the King of Egypt, our lord, dwell in the city of Dunip. Let our lord inquire of his elders (on this matter)—but now we no longer belong to the King of Egypt. And now for twenty years we have kept on sending to the king, our lord, but our messengers remain with the king, our lord. And now, our lord, we have made request of the king, our lord, for Jadi-Addu, and may our lord grant him! For, O lord, the King of Egypt (once) granted him (to return), and why did the king, our lord, cause him, (while) on the way (home), to return (to Egypt)?

And now Azira, thy servant, has heard of thy * * * and in the land Hatat has taken them by force. And if his (the king's) troops and chariots delay, the (forces of) Azira will make us like the city of Ni. When we shall mourn, the King of Egypt will be grieved, because of those things that Azira shall have done, for he will turn his hand against our lord. And when Azira enters the city of Simyra, Azira will treat us as he wishes, in the territory of our lord, the king, and on account of these things our lord will be grieved. And now Dunip, thy city, is weeping, and her tears are flowing, and there is no help within reach.

For twenty years we have been sending to our lord, the king, the King of Egypt, but not one word has come to us from our lord, the king.

IX. LETTER FROM AZIRI TO DUDU

His intercessor at the court of the Egyptian king

To my lord, Dudu, my father, as follows: Aziri, thy son, thy servant. At my father's feet I fall down. May it be well with my father!

Now, O Dudu, I am giving what my lord desires, and whatever are the desires of the king, my lord, let him write, and I will gratify them.

Again, behold, thou art in (that) place, my father, and all the wishes of Dudu, my father, write, and I will gratify them.

Behold, thou art my father and my lord, and I am thy son, and the lands of Amuri are thy lands, and my house is thy house. And whatever thou desirest write, and I will gratify thy desire.

Behold, thou sittest before the king, my lord * * * [Eight lines are badly interrupted by breaks] * * * the slanderous words against me, do not permit.

Behold, I am a servant of the king, my lord, and the words of my lord, the king, the words of Dudu, my father, I will never transgress.

And if the king, my lord, does not love me, but hates me, can I say anything?

X. LETTER FROM AZIRI TO DUDU

Intercessor at the Egyptian court

To Dudu, my lord, my father: Aziri, thy servant. At the feet of my lord, I prostrate myself. Hatib is here, and has brought the cordial and good words of my lord, the king, and I very greatly rejoiced. My country also, and my brothers, servants of the king, my lord, and the servants of my lord, Dudu, were very happy, when the utterance of my lord, the king, reached me. From the words of

my lord, my god, my sun, and from the words of Dudu, my lord, I do not depart.

Behold, my lord, Hatib is with me; he and I will go together. My lord, the king of the Hittites has marched into the land of Nuhashshe, and the cities are not sufficiently strong to maintain their independence before the king of the Hittites. But (in case they could) Hatib and I would come.

May my lord, the king, hear my words! My lord, I fear the face of my lord, the king, and Dudu. For indeed, my gods, and my messenger, and my kinsmen, are Dudu and the officers of my lord, the king, and I will come. And the following, (hear) O Dudu, and my lord, the king, and the officers: when any snares are hidden for Aziri, in a way which betokens evil, then thou shouldst say to my gods and to my god, that Hatib and I are servant(s) of the king. Dudu, thou shouldst know that I am coming to you.

XI. LETTER FROM AZIRI TO HAI

An Egyptian general

To Hai, my brother: Aziri, thy brother. May it be well with thee, and with the troops of my lord, the king, may it be very well! In everything I seek the face of my lord, the king; I seek for the good. I, and my sons, and my brothers, are all good servants of my lord, the king. Indeed, Hatib and I will come in great haste. O Hai, mayest thou know that I am coming! From the words of my lord and from thy words I do not deviate. I am the servant of my lord.

The king of the Hittites is stopping in Nuhashshi, and fear him, lest he should advance on Martu. For when the city of Dunip falls then * * * the way to the place where he is stopping. And I fear him, and for this reason I shall stop until he leaves. Hatib and I will come with all haste.

XII. LETTER FROM THE KING OF EGYPT TO THE PRINCE OF AMURRA (AZIRI)

Brought by Hanni

To the Prince of Amurra: The king thy lord. The Prince of Gebal, thy brother, whom his brother * * * in the gate * * * "Take me and bring me into my city * * * I will compensate thee, for I have nothing with me now." So he spoke to thee in taking a prince, whom his brother in the gate * * * from his city.

And when he was living in Sidon, thou deliveredst him over to the (hostile) princes, according to thine idea (of thy authority), but thou didst not know the hatred of the people. If thou art really a true servant of the king, why didst thou not cause him to be brought before thy lord, the king, thinking: "This prince sent to me, saying, 'Take me and bring me into my city'"? And even if thou art acting faithfully, all the words are not true which thou sentest me * * * the king thinks that all that thou sayest is not true. And it is indeed reported that thou hast made peace with the Prince of Kadesh, mutually to furnish food and drink, and it is true. Why hast thou done thus to make peace with a prince toward whom another prince is hostile? For if thou shalt prove faithful, and look to thine own and to his interests, then thou canst not keep the promises which thou didst formerly make. Whatever thine attitude toward them, thou canst not be with the king, thy lord.

Now, these whom * * * into the fire, they are seeking to * * * thee, and to burn thee, and what thou very much lovest. But if thou wilt be submissive to thy lord, the king, then what is there that the king would not do for thee? But if thou dost persist in doing acts of unfriendliness, and dost cherish wickedness, thoughts of hostility in thy heart, then by (command of) the overseer of the king, thou wilt die, together with thy whole family. Now, be subservient to thy lord, the king, and thou shalt live. Thou knowest that

the king does not wish to invade all Kinahhi. And since thou didst send word to me thus: "Let the king, my lord, leave me alone this year, and next year I will appear before my lord, the king; for my son is not here"; now, then, thy lord, the king, has left thee (alone) this (past) year, as thou didst request. But if thy son is with thee again, send (him) and come to visit the king, by whose glance all lands have life. And do not say, "I would prefer to omit" this year the going to thy lord, the king, and do not send thy son to thy lord, the king, that he might go in your stead.

The king, thy lord, has indeed heard that thou sentest (word) to the king, as follows: "Let my lord, the king, send Hanni, the king's messenger, for the second time; then I will send by his hand the enemies of the king." Now, he is come to thee as thou didst request, therefore send them and let not one of them escape. Now, thy lord, the king, is sending thee the names of the enemies of the king by letter, by the hand of Hanni, the king's messenger; therefore send them to thy lord, the king, and let not one of them escape. And put shackles of bronze on their feet. Indeed, the people whom thou shouldst send to thy lord, the king, (are these): "Sharru, together with all his sons, Tuia, Liia, together with all his sons, Jishyari, together with all his sons, the son-in-law of Malia, together with his sons, and his wives. The pamaha of Hanni is the paitiu, who will read the message; Dashirti, Paluma, Nimahi, the robber, in Amurri.

Now know that the king, the sun in the heavens, is well, his warriors and his chariots are many, from the upper country to the lower country, the rising of the sun to the going down of the same everything is very prosperous.

XIII. LETTER FROM AZIRI TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the great king, my lord, my god, my sun: Aziri thy servant seven times seven times at the feet of my lord, my god, my sun, I prostrate myself. Oh, my lord, I am thy

servant, and in prostration before the king, my lord, I speak all my words before my lord.

My lord, do not pay attention to the enemies who slander me in the presence of the king, my lord; I am thy servant forever. And since my lord, the king, mentions Hani (I reply): My lord, I was staying in Dunip, and did not know when he came. As soon as I learned of it, I set out after him, but did not overtake him. If Hani should return in good shape, let my lord, the king, ask him how I cared for him. My brother and Bati-il served him; oxen, sheep, and birds, his food and his drink they gave him. Horses and asses I gave for his journey. May my lord, the king, give heed to my words: When I go to visit my lord, the king, then Hani comes to meet me, and cares for me like a father or like a mother. And now my lord says, "From Hani thou hast taken flight." Thy gods and the sun know whether I was not staying in Dunip.

Now, since my lord, the king, gave orders for the rebuilding of Simyra (I reply): The kings of Nuhashshe are hostile to me, and my cities by the orders of Hatib they are seizing, and consequently I have not rebuilt it. But now I will rebuild it in all haste. And may my lord know that half of the weapons which my lord, the king, gave me, Hatib has taken away. Both the gold and the silver which my lord, the king, gave me, Hatib has taken it all. And may my lord know it!

Again, also, my lord, the king, says, "Why didst thou care for the messengers of the king of the Hittites, and not care for my messenger?" (I reply), "This country belongs to my lord, and the king, my lord, has appointed me prince." May there come a messenger of my lord, and all that I promised, my lord, I will give; may he grant living souls, ships, oil, weapons, and chariots (!)

XIV. LETTER FROM RIB-ADDI OF GEBAL IN PHŒNICIA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

RIB-ADDI addresses the lord of the lands, the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle: May Ba'alat of Gebal grant power to the king, my lord! At the feet of my lord, my sun, seven times seven times I prostrate myself.

Let my lord, the king, know that all is well with Gebal, the trusty handmaid of the king, from the time of his fathers; but now the king has allowed his faithful city to pass out from under his hand. Let my lord, the king, look about the lands of the house of his father (to see) whether the man who is in Gebal is not a faithful servant.

Thou canst not complain of thy servant if the hostility of the confederates is effective against him and against the gods of thy land. Our sons and our daughters and our * * * will be lost, because we must give them to Jarimuta for our sustenance. My fields (are unproductive!) because there is no sowing. All my cities situated on the mountains and by the sea-shore have fallen into the hands of the confederates. Gebal (only) and two cities still belong to me. And behold now Abd-Ashirta has taken Shigata for himself, and has said to the people of Ammia, "Kill your lord, and do as we are doing, and you will then have peace." And they have done according to his words, and have become like the confederates.

And now behold Abd-Ashirta has sent to the people of Bit-Ninib (saying), "Assemble yourselves, and we will fall upon Gebal." If there were a man to save us from their hands, and could rescue (?) the lords of the lands, and all lands should act with the * * * then thou couldst be judge over all lands, and the boys and the girls would always live in safety. And if the king (himself) should pass along, though all the lands were in rebellion against him, what could they do to us? Thus they (the people) would be generally prosperous. But I greatly fear

that there is no man to rescue me out of their hands; like a bird which is taken in a net, so shall I be in the city of Gebal. Why dost thou neglect thy country? Behold, I sent to the king's palace, but they paid no attention to my message.

Now, (since) Amanappa is with thee; ask him; he knows, and has seen the distress which has fallen upon me. May the king heed the words of his servant, and give life to his servant, that his servant may live! Then will I guard his faithful city until * * * our gods * * * and let the king look upon his country, and * * * upon * * * may it seem good to my lord, the king, to send his * * * and that I should hold to my place, and should come before my lord, the king. And may it be plain to thee what I am doing in my * * * Indeed, I am thus thoughtful by day and by night.

XV. LETTER FROM RIB-ADDI TO THE KING OF EGYPT

RIB-ADDI says to the king of the lands, the great king, the king of battle: May Ba'alat of Gebal bestow power on the king, my lord! At the feet of my lord, my sun, seven times and seven times I prostrate myself. Know, since Amanappa came to me, all the confederates have turned against me by the demand of Abd-Ashirta. Now, let my lord give heed to the words of his servant, and despatch a garrison for the defence of the king's city until the advance of the home guards. If there were no home guards all the lands would fall into the hands of the confederates. Since the city of Mar * * * (has espoused) the cause of Abd-Ashirta, they are trying to capture Gebal and Beyrut, and all the lands will fall into the hands of the confederates. The two cities that (still) remain to me they are trying to snatch from the king's power. Let my lord send a garrison to his two cities until the advance of the home guards, and despatch me rations; and there is nothing for them to drink. Like a bird which has been taken in a net, so am

I in the city of Gebal. Now, in case the king is not able to save me from his enemies, the lands will fall into the power of Abd-Ashirta * * * (he is) a dog and (will take) the king's lands for his own.

XVI. LETTER FROM RIB-ADDI TO THE KING OF EGYPT

RIB-ADDI to my lord, the king: At thy feet seven and seven times I prostrate myself. I have written several times (to thee), but * * * (broken) * * * my lord, the king, has paid no attention to my words; and I despatched my messenger to court, but (he came back) empty-handed, without any garrison with him. And when my brothers saw that not (even) in my legal proceedings was I upheld (!), not to me, as to the princes, my brothers * * * and I went over to Ammunira, and my brother left me, to seize (!) Gebal, (and) to turn the city over to the sons of Abd-Ashirta. When my brother shall see that my messenger has come (from Egypt) empty-handed, without any garrison, he will oppose me, and so become guilty, and drive me from the city.

Let not the king, my lord, disregard this thing! Indeed, I am not able to go to Egypt. Age and disease are burdensome to me. Let my lord, the king, know that the gods of Gebal are aggravated and exceedingly troubled, for my sins are against the gods! Thus I do not go before my lord, the king. But then I have sent my son, the servant of the king, my lord, to the king, my lord. Let the king hear the words of his servant, and may the king, my lord, send troops to hold (!) Gebal, that the foe (!) may not enter (it) * * * I have sent to it * * * the troops of my lord, the king, to occupy it. Behold them * * * my adherents in the city, and the enemy will abandon it. Should the troops march out, and seize (!) it on the day of its capture, then will the city revert to my lord, the king. Let my lord know, then, that I am his faithful servant. While I am in the city I will protect it for my lord.

Let my lord, the king, take great care that the city be not turned over to the sons of Abd-Ashirta. For my brother has stirred up the city, in order to turn it over to the sons of Abd-Ashirta. Let not my lord, the king, neglect his city. Because there is in it much silver and gold; in its temples there is much property if they should capture it. As my lord, the king, proposes to do for his servant, let him do, and let him give the city of Bur-selem for my home. Now, I shall be at Ammunira if this city is lost. Against Bur-selem the sons of Abd-Ashirta will make a hostile demonstration, if I should go to Ammunira. For the sons of Abd-Ashirta, since they are gaining on me, and there is a message from the king for me, I say to my lord: Behold Gebal is their city; there is considerable of the king's property in it, the heritage from our father.

Formerly when the king had neglected any of the cities of his country * * * Behold, then, I have sent thy servant, my son, to my lord, the king, and may the king send him back with all haste, and with him troops to garrison the city! If my lord, the king, * * * me and brings me back to the city, I will defend it, as formerly, for my lord the king * * * (several lines broken) * * * Let my lord, the king, give heed to [the words of] his servant * * * [may he send] troops, and may the troops occupy the city with all speed, and hold it! If the king is thinking the matter over, let my lord, the king, not neglect the city * * * concerning that baneful act * * * which he formerly committed against my lord, the king, * * * the troops of my lord, the king, may my lord, the king, send quickly!

XVII. LETTER FROM ZIMRIDA OF SIDON TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the king, my lord, my gods, my sun, the breath of my life says: Zimrida, the Prince of Sidon.

At the feet of my lord, my gods, the sun, the breath of my life, at the feet of my lord, my gods, my sun, the

breath of my life, seven and seven times I prostrate myself. Let the king, my lord, know of the prosperity of Sidon, the handmaid of the king, my lord, which he put into my hand.

And when he heard the message of the king, my lord, which he wrote to his servant, then my heart was glad; I lifted my head, and my eyes gleamed when I heard the message of the king, my lord. Let the king know then that I am at the disposal of the troops of the king, my lord. I dispose of everything, as the king, my lord, orders. And may the king, my lord, know that the power of the enemy against me is very great; all the cities which the king put into my hand have fallen into the power of the invaders.

And may the king commit me to the hand of the man who commands at the head of the troops of the king, that I may inquire about the cities which have fallen into the power of the invaders, and that I may restore them to my hand, and to the service of the king, my lord, as my fathers (served him) formerly!

XVIII. LETTER FROM ABI-MILKI, OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the king, my lord: Abi-milki, thy servant, seven and seven times at the feet of the king, my lord, I prostrate myself. I am dust under the sandals of the king, my lord. I have heard what the king has written to his servant * * * what he ordered to do I do with exceeding great pleasure. Again, since the troops of the king, my lord, forsook me, the Prince of Sidon, my brother, has refused to allow me to go to the (main)land to get wood, to get drinking water.

[The remaining ten lines are badly mutilated.]

XIX. LETTER FROM SHUWARDATA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the king, my lord, my gods, my sun, saying: Shuwardata, thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the king, my lord, my gods, my sun, seven and seven times I prostrate myself. The king, my lord, gave me a commission to wage war against the city of Keila. I carried on war and was victorious, and my city was restored to me.

Why did Abd-hiba [of Jerusalem] write to the people of Keila, "Accept money and become my ally"? May the king, my lord, know that Abd-hiba has taken my city from me! Again, let the king, my lord, inquire whether I have taken a man, or one single ox or an ass from him or from his right (!) * * * Again, Lapaja is dead, he who took our cities; and Lapaja was truly in league (!) with Abd-hiba, and * * * plundered our cities.

[The last five lines are badly broken.]

XX. LETTER OF ABD-HIBA, OF JERUSALEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the king, my lord, thus says Abd-hiba, thy servant: At the feet of my lord, the king, seven and seven times I prostrate myself.

What have I done against the king, my lord? They have slandered me before the king, my lord, thus: "Abd-hiba has rebelled against the king, his lord." Behold, as for me, neither my father nor my mother appointed me to this place. The mighty arm of the king set me over the house of my father. Why should I be guilty before the king, my lord? As sure as the king lives, I said to the officer of the king, my lord, "Why art thou favourable to the invaders, and unfavourable to the princes?" For this they slander me before the king, my lord.

When I say, "The land of the king, my lord, will be

destroyed," then they slander me before the king, my lord. Let the king, my lord, know when the king, my lord, had placed a garrison * * * Janhamu took (it) (!). [Five lines badly broken.] There is no garrison there. But let the king have care for his territory * * * for his land; the cities of the king, my lord, which had belonged to Ili-milki are gone; all the country of the king will be lost (to him). Let the king, my lord, have care for his territory.

Should I say, "I will go to visit the king, my lord, and see the sorrow of the king, my lord," the enemies against me are strong, and I can not go to the king, my lord. May it seem good to the king, my lord, to send a garrison, that I may visit and see the sorrow of the king, my lord! As truly as the king, my lord, lives, as truly as an officer marches forth, I say: The territory of the king is being destroyed. If thou dost not give heed to me, all the princes will be lost, and the king, my lord, will have no (more) princes (in this territory).

Let the king give his attention to the princes, and let the king, my lord, send troops. The king has no lands (left). The invaders have plundered all the lands of the king. If troops should come this year, the lands of the king, my lord, would be securely his, but if no troops should come, the lands of the king, my lord, would be lost. To the scribe of the king, my lord: Abd-hiba, thy servant. Declare these words clearly to the king, my lord: "All the territory of the king, my lord, is being destroyed."

XXI. LETTER FROM ABD-TIRSHI, OF HAZOR, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the king, my lord, saying: Abd-tirshi, of Hazor, thy servant. At the feet of the king, my lord, seven and seven times at the feet of the king, my lord, I prostrate myself. Behold, I am the faithful servant of the king, my lord, and I, indeed, am defending the city of Hazor, together

with its villages, for the king, my lord. May the king, my lord, rejoice and reflect upon everything that has happened to Hazor, thy faithful city, and to thy servant!

XXII. LETTER FROM JAPAHI, OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the king, my lord, my gods, my sun, the sun in the heavens, saying: Japahi, of Gezer, thy servant, the dust of thy feet, the groom of thy horses. At the feet of the king, my lord, my gods, my sun, the sun in the heavens, seven and seven times I prostrate myself upon my breast and back. I have heard the words of the messenger of the king, my lord, with great clearness. And let the king, my lord, the sun in the heavens, look well to his land, for the invaders are mighty against us; and let the king, my lord, stretch forth his hand toward me, and let the king, my lord, save me from the hand of the invaders, that the invaders may not destroy us!

XXIII. LETTER FROM JITIA, OF ASHKELON, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the king, my lord, my gods, my sun, the sun of heaven: Jitia, a man of the city of Ashkelon, thy servant, the dust of thy feet, the groom of thy horses. At the feet of the king, my lord, the sun of heaven, seven and seven times I prostrate myself. The officer of the king, my lord, whom the king, my lord, the sun of heaven, sent to me—I have heard his words with great clearness. I am, indeed, guarding the king's place which is under my care.

XXIV. LETTER FROM ZIMRIDA, OF LACHISH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

To the king, my lord, my gods, my sun, the sun of the heavens: Zimrida, a man of the city of Lachish, thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the king, my

lord, the sun of the heavens, seven and seven times I cast myself down. As to the messenger of the king, my lord, whom he sent to me, I have clearly heard his words, and I, indeed, will do according to his command.

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS

I. A LETTER FROM BEL-IBNI TO THE KING

(K. 524; H. 282)

Bel-ibni was a man of high rank, a general in the armies of Sardanapalus, and served with distinction during the revolt of Shamash-shum-ukin and in the campaigns against Elam and the warlike Chaldeans of southern Babylonia. As to his birth and family relations we have little information. He had, however, a brother, Belshunu, and a nephew, his sister's son, Mushezib-Marduk. The nephew held a high military command under Bel-ibni; Belshunu, seized by Nabu-bel-shumate at the time of his revolt, was thrown into prison, loaded with chains, and held in captivity for a considerable period—an injury which goes far to account for the implacable animosity exhibited by Bel-ibni toward the Chaldean prince. Bel-ibni himself, according to a proclamation of the king to the people of the Gulf District, held the rank of manzaz pani, a dignity reserved for the most exalted nobility and the highest officers of state, the possessors of which, as the name implies, enjoyed the right of access to the royal presence, and of a place near the king's person on all occasions of ceremony.

To the lord of kings, my lord, thy servant Bel-ibni! May Ashur, Shamash, and Marduk decree length of days, health of mind and body, for the lord of kings, my lord!

Shuma, the son of Shum-iddina, son of Gakhal—son of Tammaritu's sister—fleeing from Elam, reached the (country of the) Dakkha. I took him under my protection and transferred him from the Dakkha (hither). He is ill. As soon as he completely recovers his health, I shall send him to the king, my lord.

A messenger has come to him (with the news) that Nadan and the Pukudeans of Til * * * had a meeting with Nabu-bel-shumate at the city of Targibati, and they took a mutual oath to this effect: "According to agree-

ment we shall send you whatever news we may hear." To bind the bargain (?) they purchased from him fifty head of cattle, and also said to him, "Our sheep shall come and graze in the pasture (?), among the Ubanateans, in order that you may have confidence in us." Now (I should advise that) a messenger of my lord, the king, come and give Nadan plainly to understand as follows: "If thou sendest anything to Elam for sale, or if a single sheep gets over to the Elamite pasture (?), I will not let thee live." The king, my lord, may thoroughly rely upon my report.

II. A LETTER FROM BEL-IBNI TO THE KING
(K. 13; H. 281)

To the lord of kings, my lord, thy servant Bel-ibni! May Ashur, Shamash, and Marduk grant health of mind and body, long life, and a lengthy reign to the lord of kings, my lord!

The news from Elam is as follows: Ummakhaldash, the former king, who fled, but returned again and seated himself upon the throne, has become alarmed and left the city of Madaktu. His mother, his wife, his sons, and all his family having removed, he crossed the river Ulæus, and went southward (?) to Talakh. The Nagir Ummansimash, Undadu the Zilliru, and all his partisans have gone in the direction of Shukharisungur, now saying, "We will dwell in the Khukhan country," and now again "in Kha'adalu."[1]

All these parts are in terror of the troops of the lord of kings, my lord. The Elamites are ravaged as though (by) a plague; they are in a state of utter calamity; they are invaded by panic. When need came upon their land, the whole country fell away from their side. All the Sakkhadeans and the Sallukkeans are in a state of revolt, saying, "Why did ye slay Umkhuluma?" When Ummakhaldash

[1] In their irresolution they were unable to form a decided and consistent plan.

entered Madaktu, calling together all his partisans, he upbraided them as follows: "Did I not say to you before I fled that I wished to seize Nabu-bel-shumate and give him up to the King of Assyria, in order that he might not send his troops against us? You heard me, and can bear witness to my words." Now, if it please the lord of kings, my lord, let me convey the royal signet to Ummakhaldash, with reference to the capture of Nabū-bel-shumate. I shall send it secretly to Ummakhaldash. If the lord, the king, should say, "They are * * *,[1] shall I send my message to them secretly?" (I would suggest that) when the royal messenger reaches them accompanied by an escort of troops, that accursed scoundrel Nabu-bel-shumate will hear of it, and, paying a ransom to the nobles, will buy himself off. If the gods of the lord of kings, my lord, would only bestir themselves, they would catch him with his bow unstrung, and send him to the lord of kings, my lord.

They collect all the tax corn (?) in Elam, and, putting it in charge of the sharnuppu,[2] they live on it. As long as Umkhuluma was alive, Nabu-bel-shumate, on receiving his share, would lavish it upon his partisans. This tax corn (?), in charge of the sharnuppu, they levy from Talakh as far as Radē, and throughout the country of Salluk. Now, Nabū-bel-shumate, and Nishkur-bel, his major-domo, whenever they catch a sharnuppu, seize him, saying: "Whenever you applied to Umkhulumà for our provisions, he used to give them to you. You have slain the people of our house with famine. You shall straightway restore to us our stolen provisions, at the rate of ten bar for one qa" (?). They withhold it from Ummakhaldash, and, though he has applied (?) for it repeatedly, he can not get it from them. Whenever I hear anything which the lord of kings, my lord, would wish to hear * * *

[The few remaining lines are too badly mutilated for translation.]

[1] Apparently some term of reproach. The sense is, "Shall I stoop to send a secret message to these villains?"

[2] An Elamite official title.

III. A LETTER FROM BEL-IBNI TO THE KING
(K. 10; H. 280)

To the lord of kings, my lord, thy servant Bel-ibni!

May Ashur, Shamash, and Marduk bestow health of mind, health of body, length of days, long years of reign, upon the lord of kings, the king of the world, my lord!

When I left the Gulf District, I sent five hundred soldiers, servants of my lord, the king, to the city of Sabdanu, with these orders: "Establish a post (?) in Sabdanu, and make raids into Elam; slay and take prisoners!" When they reached the city of Irgidu, a city lying two leagues this side of Susa, they slew Ammaladin, Prince of Iashi'an, his two brothers, three of his uncles, two of his nephews, Dalan, son of Adiadi'a, and two hundred free-born citizens—they had a long journey before them—and made one hundred and fifty prisoners. The authorities of Lakhiru and the people of Nugu, when they saw that my troops had got to their rear, becoming alarmed, sent a message, and entered into terms with Mushezib-Marduk, my sister's son, a servant of my lord the king, whom I had placed in command of the post (?), saying, "We will become subjects of the King of Assyria." So assembling all their force, they marched with Mushezib-Marduk into Elam * * *[1] They bring (?) the following report from Elam: Ummanigash, son of Amedirra, has revolted against Ummakhaldash. From the river Khudkhud as far as the city of Kha'adânu the people have sided with him. Ummakhaldash has assembled his forces, and now they are encamped opposite each other on the banks of the river. Iqisha-aplu, whom I have sent to the palace, is well informed about them. Let him be questioned at the palace.

[1] The text is here too badly mutilated for translation.

IV. A LETTER FROM NABU-USHABSHI TO THE KING (K. 528; H. 269)

Nabu-ushabshi, the writer of the two letters here translated, was an Assyrian official of Erech in southern Babylonia, and lived in the reign of Sardanapalus. He seems to have suffered severely from the revolt of Bel-iqisha to which he refers, and his advice in regard to the reduction of Gambulu was doubtless in full accord with his personal feelings.

To the king of the world, my lord, thy servant Nabu-ushabshi!

May Erech and E-anna bless the king of the world, my lord! I pray daily to Ishtar of Erech and to Nana for the life of the king, my lord.

The king, my lord, has sent me (this message): "Put troops on the march, and send them against Gambulu." (Now) the gods of the king, my lord, know well that since Bel-iqisha revolted from my lord the king, and went to Elam, destroyed my father's house, and came to slay my brother, daily[1] * * * With regard to what the king, my lord, has sent (to command), I will go and carry out the behest of my lord the king. In case (however) the inhabitants of Gambulu will not become submissive by these means, (then) if it be agreeable to my lord the king, let an envoy of my lord the king come; let us assemble all Babylonia; and let us go with him, win back the country, and give it to my lord the king.

I send (my advice) to my lord the king; let my lord the king do as he pleases. Preserve this letter.

V. A LETTER FROM NABU-USHABSHI TO THE KING (K. 79; H. 266)

To the king of the world, my lord, thy servant Nabu-ushabshi!

May Erech and E-anna be gracious to the king of the world, my lord! I pray daily to Ishtar of Erech and to Nana for the life of my lord the king.

[1] For the next five lines the text is almost entirely obliterated, but probably contained the statement that the writer prays daily for revenge upon those who have thus injured him.

Pir'i-Bel, son of Bel-eter, having gone forth with his father to Elam some ten years ago, came from Elam to Babylonia with his father. Having come (hither), they practised in Erech all that was evil toward Assyria. Having subsequently retired to Elam, his father, Bel-eter, died in Elam, and he in the month of Marcheshvan, having brought letters to me and to * * * the governor, we sent (?) the letters which he brought by Daru-sharru to (?) * * *[1] If he tell the king, my lord, "I am come from Elam," let not the king, my lord, believe him. From the month of Marcheshvan, when we sent to my lord the king the letters he brought, until the present time he has not been to Elam. Should the king, my lord, desire confirmation of these words, Idu'a, the servant of Kudurru, who brought?) to Erech these reports about him (?) * * *[2] let these men tell my lord the king how these treasonable letters were written, and if my lord the king does not understand about these letters which we sent in Marcheshvan to my lord the king by Daru-sharru, let my lord the king question Daru-sharru the satellite. I send to my lord in order that he may be informed.

VI. MESSAGE OF THE KING TO SIN-TABNI-UÇUR
(K. 824; H. 290)

Sin-tabni-uçur, to whom the following letter is addressed by King Sardanapalus, was the son of Ningal-iddina, and was governor of Ur, in southern Babylonia. Ummanigash, mentioned as one of the calumniators of Sin-tabni-uçur, was one of the three sons of Urtaku, King of Elam, who took refuge at the Assyrian court when their father was dethroned and murdered by his brother Teumman.

MESSAGE of the king to Sin-tabni-uçur. It is well with me; may thy heart be of good cheer!

With reference to thy message about Sin-sharra-uçur, how could he speak evil words of thee, and I listen to them? Since Shamash perverted his understanding,[3] and Ummani-

[1] The text is here completely broken away. The translation is resumed at line 10 of the reverse. [2] The text is here very uncertain.

[3] The meaning is that he must be out of his senses to make such accusations.

gash slandered thee before me, they have sought thy death, but Ashur, my god, withholds me (from that), and not willingly could I have put to death my servant and the support of my father's house. No!—for thou wouldst (be willing to) perish along with thy lord's house—(never) could I consent to that. He and Ummanigash have plotted thy destruction, but because I know thy loyalty I have conferred even greater favour (than before) upon thee; is it not so? These two years thou hast not brought foe and need upon thy lord's house.[1] What could they say against a servant who loves his lord's house, that I could believe? And with regard to the service which thou and thy brother Assyrians have rendered, about which thou sendest (word), what ye have done is well; the guard for me which ye have kept[2] * * * and this * * * which is most honourable in my sight, and a favour which I shall requite to thee till (the times of our) children's children.

VII. A LETTER FROM SHA-ASHUR-DUBBU TO THE KING (K. 469; H. 138)

The city of Dur-Sharrukin, or "Sargonsburg," mentioned near the end of the letter, and for which the timber spoken of was probably required, was founded, after a long-cherished plan, by the great king whose name it commemorates, and completed in the latter years of his reign. On the 22d of Tishri (September), 707, in the eponymy of Sha-Ashur-dubbu, the images of the gods were carried through its streets in solemn procession, and established in their temples, and in April of the following year the king formally took up his residence in his new capital. One year later (705), he fell by the hand of an assassin (Tiele, "Bab.-Assyr. Geschichte," p. 248). The site of Dur-Sharrukin, occupied by the modern village of Khorsabad, was explored in the years 1843–1844 by the French consul at Mosul, Émile Botta, who discovered the palace of Sargon, with a wealth of sculptures and inscriptions, which were conveyed to Paris, and now form part of the Louvre collection.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Sha-Ashur-dubbu! A hearty greeting to the king, my lord! Greeting to the fortresses, to the country of the king, my lord!

[1] Although in that time he had ample opportunity to do so.
[2] Text mutilated.

I sent two of my officers, accompanied by six men and provided with a warrant, after some deserters who were in the city of Penza. Two chiefs of battalion went along with them. The soldiers took down rations, of which they partook (en route). The brother of the Shuprian, having shared their meal with them, they set out and travelled along together. The Shuprian had laid an ambush beforehand, (but) the two officers, with the six soldiers, got out (of it, and) rescued both the chiefs of battalion. I sent word to them, "Establish (there) a military post." I shall make an investigation, (and) if they are in my country I shall lay hands on the rascals. I went and brought up troops into the fortress. Let the king, my lord, send orders that the Taziru and the Itu of my lord the king, who have appointed their deputies here, may come (themselves) and stand guard with me, until they get this timber away. The king, my lord, shall decide. My men are doing duty in Dur-Sharrukin, (but) the cavalry are here with me.

VIII. A LETTER FROM NABU-SHUM-IDDINA TO THE SON OF THE KING (K. 629; H. 69)

Nabu-shum-iddina ("Nabu has given a name"), who, in the letter here presented describing a religious ceremony and solemn procession in honour of the god, styles himself the prefect of the Temple of Nabu, appears to have lived in the reign of Esarhaddon; and the prince to whom the letter is addressed was probably Sardanapalus, and was evidently the heir to the throne, since a wish is expressed for the long duration of his future reign. A letter to the king from the same writer, or from a person of the same name (K. 1017; Harper, No. 66), is too badly mutilated to yield any connected sense, but mentions (rev. ll. 1, 2) the crown-prince, and the name of Sardanapalus, of which traces are preserved, is evidently to be restored before the title.

Fourteen letters (Nos. 60–73) are published in Harper's work under the name of Nabu-shum-iddina. Of Nos. 72 (K. 1272) and 73 (K. 5509) merely the opening words remain; and the context of Nos. 67 (K. 1050) and 70 (K. 1070) is rendered unintelligible by the mutilation of the tablet. No. 66 has just been referred to, and all the rest are reports of the arrival of horses. Whether the priest of Nabu and the writer about horses were identical is open to doubt. The formula of greeting is certainly the same in the letters of both persons, but it is not a very characteristic one. The

invocation to Nabu and Marduk is common to many writers; precisely the same formula is found, for example, in the letter of Nabu-naçir ("Nabu protects") to the king (Harper, No. 178 = K. 482).

To the prince, my lord, thy servant Nabu-shum-iddina!

A hearty, hearty greeting to the prince, my lord! May Nabu and Marduk bless the prince, my lord!

On the third day of the month of Iyyar the city of Calah will consecrate the couch of Nabu, (and) the god will enter the bedchamber. On the fourth (will take place) the return of Nabu. The prince, my lord, shall decide. I am the prefect of the house of Nabu, thy god, (so) I (of course) shall go.

At Calah the god will come forth from the palace inclosure (?), (and) from the palace inclosure (?) will go to the grove. A sacrifice will be offered. The charioteer of the gods, coming from the stable of the gods, will take the god forth, bring him back, and convey him within. This is the route of the procession.

Of the jar-bearers, whoever has a sacrifice (to offer) will offer it. Whoever offers up one qa [1] of his food, may enter the house of Nabu. May they [2] perfectly execute the ordinances of the gods, to the life and health of the prince, my lord. What (commands) has the prince, my lord, to send me? May Bel and Nabu, who granted help in the month of Shebat, guard the life of the prince, my lord! May they make thy sovereignty extend to the end of time!

IX. A LETTER FROM NABU-SHUM-IDDINA TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE (K. 547; H. 62)

The general tone of the following letter, and the reference to the gods Bel and Nabu contained in it, would seem to favour the identification of the writer with the priest of Nabu who, in the preceding letter (K. 623), invokes the same deities in behalf of the prince.

To the secretary of state, my lord, thy servant Nabu-shum-iddina! Greeting to my lord!

May Nabu and Marduk, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, bless my lord! May they keep thee whole! May

[1] A measure. [2] Those officiating at the ceremony.

thy heart ever be of good cheer! May Bel and Nabū establish prosperity in the homes of the people of Nineveh, and prosperity with thee also!

X. A LETTER FROM ISHDI-NABU TO THE SON OF THE KING (K. 589; H. 187)

Ishdi-Nabu ("Nabu is my foundation"), an Assyrian official who probably flourished in the reign of Esarhaddon (681–668 B. C.), is the writer of four letters published in Harper's collection (Nos. 186–189). The prince who is here addressed was doubtless Sardanapalus.

To the prince, my lord, thy servant Ishdi-Nabu! A hearty greeting to the prince, my lord! May Bel, Nabu, Belit, the divine queen of Kidimuri, and Ishtar of Arbela grant health of mind and body, life, and happiness to the prince, my lord!

I convey the gracious messages of Nabu to the prince, my lord. Greeting to all the guard! May the heart of the prince, my lord, be of good cheer!

XI. A LETTER FROM NABU'A TO THE KING (K. 551; H. 142)

The importance attributed to omens, and the great attention paid to their interpretation by the Assyro-Babylonians, is attested by the very large number of tablets dealing with the subject found in the ruined temples and palaces of the ancient Mesopotamian empires. These texts, which would seem to have accumulated from a very remote period, contain explanations of omens derived from phenomena of every description, terrestrial as well as celestial, and were consulted as the standard authorities whenever, as often happened, such information was desired.

The astrologer Nabu'a doubtless had in mind a passage from one of these tablets when he wrote the letter here translated. At precisely what period this votary of astral science lived and practised his art it is impossible to say with certainty; but it was in all probability under one of the Sargonide kings.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Nabu'a!

May Nabu and Marduk bless the king, my lord!

On the seventh day of the month Kislev a fox entered the city, and fell into a well in the grove of the god Ashur. They got him out, and killed him.

XII. A LETTER FROM BALASI AND NABU-AKHE-ERBA TO THE KING (K. 565; H. 77)

Balasi, the author of six letters published in Harper's work (Nos. 74–79), all relating to astrology, divination, and kindred matters, and also of a number of astrological reports, was an Assyrian priestly astrologer who lived in the reign of Esarhaddon (681–668 B. C.). He was, therefore, a contemporary of Arad-Ea, Arad-Nana, and Nabu-shum-iddina, examples of whose correspondence are given in Nos. K. 629, K. 1024, S. 1064, K. 519.

To the king, our lord, thy servants Balasi and Nabu-akhe-erba! Greeting to the king, our lord! May Nabu and Marduk bless the king, our lord!

As for Ashur-mukin-pale'a,[1] about whom the king, our lord, has sent to us, may Ashur, Bel, Nabu, Sin, Shamash, and Ramman bless him!

May our lord the king behold his welfare!

The conditions are auspicious for the journey. The second of the month is an auspicious day; the fourth, extremely auspicious.

XIII. A LETTER FROM ARAD-EA TO THE KING (K. 1024; H. 28)

Arad-Ea ("servant of Ea") was a priest and astrologer who flourished in the reign of Esarhaddon (681–668 B. C.).

To the king, my lord, thy servant Arad-Ea! Greeting to my lord the king! May Nabu, Marduk, Sin, Ningal, (and) Nusku bless the king, my lord!

Sin, Ningal[2] * * * shall grant life, and length (of days) to the king, my lord. I pray day and night for my lord's life.

[1] Son of King Esarhaddon, and brother of Sardanapalus.

[2] The text is obliterated, but the names of other gods doubtless followed here.

XIV. A LETTER FROM ARAD-NANA TO THE KING
(S. 1064; H. 392)

According to the statement of Herodotus (i, 197), the Babylonians did not employ physicians, but brought their sick to the market-place in order to receive the advice of such persons as might be able to suggest a remedy derived from their personal experience or from that of their friends. The statement is entirely erroneous. The fact that physicians existed and were held in high esteem both in Assyria and Babylonia is abundantly attested by the cuneiform inscriptions. They belonged to the priestly class, and in their practice combined magic with more rational methods.

Among the epistolary tablets are a few letters from physicians, and from these also it may be gathered that these ancient practitioners did not entirely depend upon magic arts, as may be seen from the two examples here presented. The writer, in both cases, is Arad-Nana ("servant of Nana"), who flourished in the reign of Esarhaddon (681–668 B. C.), and was probably court physician of that monarch. Five of his letters are published in Harper's work (Nos. 108–111 and 392).

To the king, my lord, thy servant Arad-Nana! A hearty greeting to my lord the king! May the deities Adar and Gula grant health of mind and body to my lord the king!

All goes well in regard to that poor fellow whose eyes are diseased. I had applied a dressing covering his face. Yesterday, toward evening, undoing the bandage which held it (in place), I removed the dressing. There was pus upon the dressing the size of the tip of the little finger. If any of thy gods has put his hand to the matter, that (god) must surely have given express commands. All is well. Let the heart of my lord the king be of good cheer! Within seven or eight days he will be well.

XV. A LETTER FROM ARAD-NANA TO THE KING
(K. 519; H. 108)

To the king, my lord, thy servant, Arad-Nana! Greeting most heartily to my lord the king! May Adar and Gula grant health of mind and body to my lord the king! A hearty greeting to the son of the king * * *[1]

With regard to the patient who has a bleeding from his nose, the Rab-mugi[2] reports, "Yesterday, toward evening,

[1] Obverse lines 9–14 are here omitted. [2] An official title.

there was much hemorrhage." Those dressings are not scientifically applied. They are placed upon the alæ of the nose, oppress the breathing, and come off when there is hemorrhage. Let them be placed within the nostrils, and then the air will be kept away and the hemorrhage restrained. If it is agreeable to my lord the king I will go to-morrow and give instructions; (meantime) let me hear how he does.

XVI. A LETTER FROM ISHTAR-DURI TO THE KING (K. 504; H. 157)

All circumstances point to the reign of Sargon (722–705 B. C.) as the period in which Ishtar-duri ("Ishtar is my wall") flourished, and, as an Ishtar-duri was eponym in the year 714, we shall probably not be far wrong if we conclude that the writer of the letter and the eponym were one and the same person.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Ishtar-duri! Greeting to the king, my lord!

I send forthwith to my lord the king, in company with my messenger, the physicians Nabu-shum-iddina and Nabu-erba, of whom I spoke to the king, my lord. Let them be admitted to the presence of the king, my lord, and let the king, my lord, converse with them. I have not disclosed (to them) the true facts, but have told them nothing. As the king, my lord, commands, (so) has it been done.

Shamash-bel-uçur sends word from Der: "We have no inscriptions to place upon the temple walls." I send, therefore, to the king, my lord, (to ask) that one inscription be written out and sent immediately, (and that) the rest be speedily written, so that they may place them upon the temple walls.

There has been a great deal of rain, (but) the harvest is gathered. May the heart of the king, my lord, be of good cheer!

XVII. A LETTER FROM * * *, BEL-IQISHA AND BABILA TO THE KING (K. 660; H. 86)

The "receipt" of wine for the month of Tebet (January-February), spoken of in the following letter, was probably the produce of the royal vineyards for the preceding autumn, which was now ready for storage, although it is possible that reference is had to a tax or tribute of wine delivered in this month.

To the king, our lord, thy servants * * * Bel-iqisha, and Babila! Greeting to our lord the king! May Ashur * * * Bel, and Nabu grant length of days for never-ending years to our lord the king!

The king, our lord, shall decide.[1] Since the receipt for the month Tebet is bottled,[2] and there are no places of shelter (for it), we would (wish to) put it into the royal storehouses for wine. Let our lord the king pass an order that the (proper store-)houses may be indicated to us, and we shall be relieved of embarrassment.[3] The wine of our lord the king is of great quantity; where shall we put it?

XVIII. A LETTER FROM TAB-ÇIL-ESHARA TO THE KING (K. 515; H. 89)

Tab-çil-Eshara, who was governor of Ashur under Sargon (722–705 B. C.), may well have lived on into the reign of Sargon's son and successor Sennacherib (705–681 B. C.), and therefore it is not impossible that the ships mentioned in the letter may have constituted part of the fleet built by the latter monarch in 696–695. There is no record of the possession by the Assyrians of a permanent navy, and these vessels, having served the purpose for which they were constructed, may well have been either broken up or acquired by individuals for commercial purposes.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Tab-çil-Eshara!
Greeting to the king, my lord!
May Ashur and Belit bless the king, my lord!

That ship of mine in which the grand vizier conveyed money down (the river), is now stopping at Bab-bitqi, and the ship of the governor of Arrapakhitis is carrying on a ferry at Opis. My lord the king shall decide. We transport in her straw, fodder, (and) such matters (?).

[1] That is, whether it is proper that our intention shall be carried out.
[2] That is, in leather bottles. [3] Literally, "hold up our heads."

Let now the ship of the governor of Arrapakhitis come and carry on a ferry at Bâb-bitqi, and let mine go to Opis so that we may transport straw and fodder in her (there). The men of the governor of Arrapakhitis are already conducting a ferry at Bab-bitqi.

XIX. A LETTER FROM SARA'A TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PALACE (K. 1274; H. 220)

Letters from women are extremely rare. In the present instance the Lady Sara'a makes an appeal in behalf of some slaves who have besought her intercession.

To my lord, the secretary of the palace, thy handmaid Sara'a! May Bel, Belit * * *,[1] Belit of Babylon, Nabû, Tashmet, Ishtar of Nineveh, and Ishtar of Arbela bless my lord! May they grant my lord long life with health of mind and body!

The governor of Bit-Na'alani has sold to Marduk-erba the slaves—seven in number—whom he had from my lord. These people are now here, (and) have come to me, saying, "Inform the secretary of the palace, before we are conveyed to the house of Marduk-erba." My lord, the officer who executed the contract is now with them.

XX. A LETTER FROM BEL-UPAQ TO KUNA HIS FATHER (K. 1239; H. 219)

For the date of the writer, Bel-upaq ("Bel gives heed"), there is not sufficient evidence.

LETTER of Bel-upaq to Kuna his father!

Greeting to my father!

I pray daily to Nabu and Nana for my father's life, and I pay heedful reverence to Ezida in thy behalf. When I consulted the god of the temple in regard to thee, he fixed upon the fourth of the month as the propitious occasion. Thy workmaster is fully instructed in regard to every matter so far as his (the god's) words are propitious.

[1] The name of another god has been obliterated here.

CONTRACTS

I. SALES AND PURCHASES

1. A SLAVE

Contract of the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar II

SHAMASH-UBALLIT and Ubartum, children of Zakir, the son of Pashi-ummani, of their free-will have delivered Nanakirat and her unweaned son, their slave, for nineteen shekels of money, for the price agreed, unto Kaçir and Nadin-Marduk, sons of Iqisha-aplu, son of Nur-Sin. Shamash-uballit and Ubartum guarantee against insubordination, the claim of the royal service, and emancipation. Witnesses: Na'id-Marduk, son of Nabu-naçir, son of Dabibi; Bel-shum-ishkun, son of Marduk-zir-epish, son of Irani; Nabu-ushallim, son of Bel-akhi-iddin, son of Bel-apal-uçur. In the dwelling of Damqa, their mother. And the scribe, Nur-Ea, son of Ina-Isaggil-ziri, son of Nur-Sin. Babylon, twenty-first of Kisilimu, eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.

[This tablet affords a good example of the sale of a slave. In this case the persons who sell guarantee that the slave will neither become insubordinate, nor prove to be subject to any governmental claims, nor prove to have been emancipated by adoption. The word rendered "emancipation" means literally "adoption," but adoption by a freeman was an early form of emancipation.

This sale is from the reign of the Nebuchadnezzar of Biblical fame, dating from 597 B. C. The same kind of contracts, as the next one quoted will show, were made seventeen hundred years earlier.]

2. A SLAVE

Contract from the reign of Rim-Sin, before 2300 B. C.

Çini-Ishtar has bought a slave, Ea-tappi by name, from Ilu-elatti, and Akhia, his son, and has paid ten shekels of silver, the price agreed. Ilu-elatti, and Akhia, his son, will not set up a future claim on the slave. In the presence of Ilu-iqisha, son of Likua; in the presence of Ilu-iqisha, son of Immeru; in the presence of Likulubishtum, son of Appa, the scribe, who sealed it with the seal of the witnesses. The tenth of Kisilimu, the year when Rim-Sin, the king, overcame the hostile enemies.

[This transaction is like the preceding, except that the sellers simply guarantee to make no further claim upon the slave. It dates from about 2300 B. C., and is interesting as an index of the legal development of that far-off time.]

3. WHEAT

Contract from the thirty-fifth year of Darius, 487 B. C.

Six talents of wheat from Shamash-malku, son of Nabu-napshat-su-ziz, to Shamash-iddin, son of Rimut. In the month Siman, wheat, six talents in full, he will deliver in Shibtu, at the house of Shamash-iddin. Witnesses: Shamash-iddin, son of Nabu-uçur-napishti; Abu-nu-emuq, son of Sin-akhi-iddin; Sharru-Bel, son of Sin-iddin; Abannimiqu-rukus, son of Malula. Scribe, Aradya, son of Epish-zir. Shibtu, eleventh of Kislimu, thirty-fifth year of Darius, king of countries.

[This tablet is a good illustration of the simple transactions in food-stuffs, of which we have many, and of which one or two additional examples are given below. The farmers usually contracted as in this document the sale of their produce far in advance of the harvest. In this instance the sale was made six months before the grain would be ripe and could be delivered.]

4. DATES

Contract from the thirty-second year of Darius, 490 B. C.

One talent one qa of dates from the woman Nukaibu, daughter of Tabnisha, and the woman Khamaza, daughter of * * * to the woman Aqubatum, daughter of Aradya. In the month Siman they will deliver one talent one qa of dates. Scribe, Shamash-zir-epish, son of Shamash-malku. Shibtu, Adar the sixth, thirty-second year of Darius, King of Babylon and countries.

[Shibtu, the place of this transaction, was a suburb of Babylon. In addition to the points illustrated by the preceding, this shows how women, especially of the lower rank, carried on business for themselves. The father of Aqubatum, as his name, Aradya (my slave) shows, had been a slave.]

5. REAL ESTATE

Contract from the early Babylonian period, before 2000 B. C.

Çini-Ishtar, the son of Ilu-eribu, and Apil-Ili, his brother, have bought one third Shar of land with a house constructed, next the house of Çini-Ishtar, and next the house of Minani; one third Shar of arable land next the house of Çini-Ishtar, which fronts on the street; the property of Minani, the son of Migrat-Sin, from Minani, the son of Migrat-Sin. They have paid four and a half shekels of silver, the price agreed. Never shall further claim be made, on account of the house of Minani. By their king they swore. (The names of fourteen witnesses and a scribe then follow.) Month Tebet, year of the great wall of Karra-Shamash.

[This is a transaction from the early days of Babylonian history. It exhibits a form of transfer and title which has a flavour of modern business method about it.]

6. A STANDING CROP

Contract from the seventh year of Cyrus, 532 B. C.

From a cultivated field which is situated on the alley of Li'u-Bel, Itti-Marduk-balatu, the son of Nabu-akhi-iddin,

the son of Egibi, has made a purchase from Tashmitum-damqat, daughter of Shuzubu, son of Shigua, and Nadin-aplu, the son of Rimut, son of Epish-Ilu. Itti-Marduk-balatu has counted the money, the price of the crop of that field for the seventh year of Cyrus, King of Babylon, king of countries, into the hands of Tashmitum-damqat and Nadin-aplu. (The names of two witnesess and a scribe then follow, and the tablet is dated at) Babylon, Ululu thirteenth, the seventh year of Cyrus.

[This contract belongs to a class intermediate between rental and the sale of land. Instead of either, the standing crop is sold.]

II. RENTALS

1. Old Babylonian contract, earlier than 2000 B. C.

AKHIBTE has taken the house of Mashqu from Mashqu, the owner, on a lease for one year. He will pay one shekel of silver, the rent of one year. On the fifth of Tammuz he takes possession. (Then follow the names of four witnesses. It is dated) the fifth of Tammuz, the year of the wall of Kar-Shamash.

[This is the simplest form of rental, and comes from the early Babylonian times. Sometimes the transaction was not so simple, as the next tablet will show.]

2. Contract from the thirty-fifth year of Darius, 487 B. C.

In addition to the rent of the house of Shamash-iddin, son of Rimut, for this year, fifteen shekels of money in cash (shall go) to Iskhuya, son of Shaqa-Bel, son of the priest of Agish. Because of the payment he shall repair the weakness (of the house), he shall close up the crack of the wall. He shall pay a part of the money at the beginning, a part of the money at the completion. He shall pay it on the day of Bel, the day of wailing and weeping. In case the house is unfinished by Iskhuya after the first day of Tebet, Shamash-iddin shall receive four shekels of money in cash into his possession at the hands of Isk-

huya. (The names of three witnesses and a scribe then follow. The tablet is dated) at Shibtu, the twenty-first of Kislimu, the thirty-fifth year of Darius.

[This contract is most interesting. Iskhuya, apparently a tenant of Shamash-iddin, undertakes to repair the house in which he is living. In addition to the rent for the year he is to receive fifteen shekels in money, in two payments, at the beginning and the completion of the work. The last payment is to be made on the day of Bel, which seems to be identical with the first of Tebet, a week later than the contract was made. In case the repairs were not then completed, Iskhuya was to forfeit four shekels. Such business methods are not, therefore, altogether modern.

The next tablet reveals a still more intricate transaction.]

3. Contract from the thirty-sixth year of Artaxerxes, 428 B. C.

Baga'miri, son of Mitradatu, spoke of his own free-will to Belshum-iddin, son of Murashu, saying: "I will lease my cultivated field and uncultivated land, and the cultivated field and uncultivated land of Rushundati, my father's deceased brother, which is situated on the bank of the canal of Sin, and the bank of the canal Shilikhti, and the dwelling houses in the town of Galiya, on the north, adjoining the field of Nabu-akhi-iddin, son of Ninib-iddin, and adjoining the field of Banani-erish, a citizen of Nippur; on the south, adjoining the field of Minu-Bel-dana, son of Balatu; on the east, the bank of the canal of Sin; on the west, the bank of the canal of Shilikhti, and adjoining the field of Rushundati, the overseer (?) of Artaremu—all to use and to plant for sixty years. The rent of the cultivated field will be twenty talents of dates; and the uncultivated field (I will lease) for planting." Afterward Belshum-iddin, son of Murashu, accepted his offer with reference to the cultivated field and the uncultivated field, his part and the part of Rushundati, his uncle, deceased; he shall hold for sixty years the cultivated portion of it for a rental of twenty talents of dates per year, and the un-

cultivated portion for planting. Each year in the month Tishri, Bel-shum-iddin unto Baga'miri will give twenty talents of dates for the use of that field. The whole rent of his field for sixty years Baga'miri, son of Mitradatu, has received from the hands of Bel-shum-iddin, son of Murashu. If, in the future, before sixty years are completed, Baga'miri shall take that field from Bel-shum-iddin, Baga'miri shall pay one talent of silver to Bel-shum-iddin for the work which he shall have done on it and the orchard which he shall have planted. In case any claim should arise against that field, Baga'miri shall settle it and pay instead of Bel-shum-iddin. From the month Nisan, of the thirty-seventh year of Artaxerxes, the king, that field, for use and for planting, shall be in the possession of Bel-shum-iddin, son of Murashu, for sixty years. (The names of thirty witnesses and a scribe follow, eleven of whom left the impressions of their seals on the edges of the tablet. L. 34 states that) the print of the thumb-nail of Baga'miri was placed on the tablet instead of his seal. (L. 37 contains the information that) the tablet was written in the presence of Ekur-belit, daughter of Bel-balatu-ittannu, mother of Baga'miri. (The date is) Nippur, Tishri second, thirty-sixth year of Artaxerxes.

[This complicated contract is of unusual interest, since the lease is for so long a period; the rent is paid in advance, and the lessee is in the same instrument guaranteed against all future contingencies.]

III. CONTRACTS CONCERNING LABOUR

1. Contract from the reign of Shamshu-iluna, about 2200 B. C.

MAR-SIPPAR has hired for one year Marduk-naçir, son of Alabbana, from Munapirtu, his mother. He will pay as wages for one year two and a half shekels of silver. She has received one half shekel of silver, one she,[1] out of a year's wages.

[1] The she was $\frac{1}{180}$ of a shekel.

[This is a contract from the reign of Shamshu-iluna, of the first Babylonian dynasty, about 2200 B. C. It is one of many of like character.]

2. Contract from the thirty-fourth year of Darius, 488 B. C.

One coat of mail, insignum of power which will protect, is to be made by the woman Mupagalgagitum, daughter of Qarikhiya, for Shamash-iddin, son of Rimut. She will deliver in the month Shebat one coat of mail, which is to be made and which will protect.

[This tablet is dated in the thirty-fourth year of Darius I (488 B. C.), and was regarded as an important transaction, since it is signed by four witnesses and a scribe.]

3. Contract from the thirty-fifth year of Artaxerxes, 429 B. C.

Bel-akha-iddin and Bel-shunu, sons of Bel * * * and Khatin, son of Bazuzu, spoke unto Bel-shum-iddin, son of Murashu, saying: "As to the ring in which an emerald has been set in gold, we guarantee that for twenty years the emerald will not fall from the gold ring. If the emerald falls from the gold ring before the expiration of twenty years, Bel-akha-iddin, Bel-shunu (and) Khatin will pay to Bel-shum-iddin ten manas of silver." (The names of seven witnesses and a scribe are appended. The date is) Nippur, Elul eighth, the thirty-fifth year of Artaxerxes.

[The transaction needs no comment. The wealthy representative of the house of Murashu obtained from the firm of jewellers which sold him the ring a guarantee that the setting would last for twenty years; if it does not, they are to forfeit ten manas.

The tablet illustrates the following topic equally well, since the three men, Bel-akha-iddin, Bel-ishuna, and Khatin, are clearly copartners.]

IV. COPARTNERSHIPS

1. Old Babylonian contract, earlier than 2000 B. C.

SIN-KALAMA-IDI, son of Ulamasha, and Apil-ilu-shu, son of Khayamdidu, have borrowed from Arad-Sin sixteen shekels of money for the garnering of the harvest. On the festival of Ab they will pay the wheat. [Names of three witnesses and a scribe follow, and the tablet is dated in the year of a certain flood. It is not stated in the reign of what king it was written, but it clearly is an old Babylonian document, written more than 2000 B. C.

The two farmers who borrow the money on their crop are partners.]

2. Contract of the thirty-sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar II, 568 B. C.

Two manas of money belonging to Nabu-akhi-iddin, son of Shula, son of Egibi, and one half mana seven shekels of money belonging to Bel-shunu, son of Bel-akhi-iddin, son of Sin-emuq, they have put into a copartnership with one another. Whatever remains to Bel-shunu in town or country over and above, becomes their common property. Whatever Bel-shunu spends for expenses in excess of four shekels of money shall be considered extravagant. (The contract is witnessed by three men and a scribe, and is dated at) Babylon, first of Ab, in the thirty-sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar.

[Nabu-akhi-iddin was a capitalist—a member of the great Egibi family. He contributed four manas of capital to this enterprise, while Bel-shunu, who was to carry on the business, contributed one half mana and seven shekels, whatever property he might have, and his time. His expenses in the conduct of the business up to four shekels may be paid from the common funds.]

3. Contract from the fortieth year of Nebuchadnezzar II, 564 B. C.

Memorandum of the shares of Iddin-Marduk and Nabu-ukin, from the month Tebet, of the fortieth year

of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, unto the month Markheswan, of the forty-second year. One third mana of money Iddin-Marduk drew on his account in the month Tebet, of the forty-first year. One third mana of money Nabu-ukin drew on his account in the month Tebet, of the forty-first year. Fifteen shekels of Nabu-ukin's money, coined in shekel pieces, from * * * was given to Iddin-Marduk for the house of Limniya on the fifteenth of Ulul, of the forty-second year; a fourth shekel of coined money, which was for a nutu-skin, given into the same hands. One half shekel of money was given for palipi naskhapu; one third of a shekel of money was given into the same hands for beef; two giri of money was given for meat; one shekel of money was given for Liçi-nuri; two shekels of money, which was for Karia, was given into the same hands. City of * * * Markheswan * * * One mana fifty shekels are counted into the possession of Lishiru and Bunini-epish.

[From this document we learn that Iddin-Marduk and Nabu-ukin formed a copartnership in the month Tebet, of Nebuchadnezzar's fortieth year. A year from that date each of the partners drew out twenty shekels. In the month Ulul of the next year a number of small amounts were delivered to Iddin-Marduk for various specific purposes, and a larger amount, perhaps in payment of an obligation of the firm, was paid to two other men.]

4. Contract from the reign of Xerxes, 484–464 B. C.

* * * Month Markheswan * * * son of Bel-etiru, the shepherd * * * Ibni-zir-ilani, in the month * * * and the herdmen * * * spoke, thus he said to them * * * "I separate my life from the life of my brother and from the life of Lubuir, my partner. Six strong oxen * * *" * * * from the * * * day, Bara * * * and Usu * * * unto my life * * * Bel-shunu * * * Xerxes, King of Babylon and Batil * * * he will write and give me.

[This much-mutilated contract is dated in the reign of Xerxes, on the twenty-first of Adar; the year is broken

away. Although it is so broken, it shows that two brothers had been in partnership with a third person as a company of shepherds, and that one of the brothers was in the act of withdrawal from the firm to enter into partnership with another man.]

V. LOANS AND MORTGAGES

1. Contract of the fourteenth year of Nabopolassar, 611 B. C.

ONE mana of money, a sum belonging to Iqisha-Marduk, son of Kalab-Sin, (is loaned) unto Nabu-etir, son of * * * son of * * * Yearly the amount of the mana shall increase its sum by seven shekels of money. His field near the gate of Bel is Iqisha-Marduk's pledge.

(This document bears the name of four witnesses, and is dated) at Babylon, Tammuz twenty-seventh, in the fourteenth year of Nabopolassar, (the father of Nebuchadnezzar).

[This is a mortgage on real estate in security for a loan. The interest was at the rate of eleven and one third per cent.]

2. Contract of the sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar II, 598 B. C.

One mana of money, a sum belonging to Dan-Marduk, son of Apla, son of the Dagger-wearer, (is loaned) unto Kudurru, son of Iqisha-apla, son of Egibi. Yearly the amount of the mana shall increase its sum by eight shekels of money. Whatever he has in city or country, as much as it may be, is pledged to Dan-Marduk.

(The date is) Babylon, Adar fourth, in Nebuchadnezzar's sixth year.

[The rate of interest in this case was thirteen and one third per cent.]

3. Contract of the fifth year of Nabonidus, 550 B. C.

One and a half manas of money belonging to Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqisha-apla, son of Nur-Sin, (is loaned) unto

Ben-Hadad-natan, son of Addiya and Bunanit, his wife. Monthly the amount of a mana shall increase its sum by a shekel of money. From the first of the month Siman, of the fifth year of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, they shall pay the sum on the money. The call shall be made for the interest money at the house which belongs to Iba. Monthly shall the sum be paid.

[This loan was made Aru third, in the fifth year of Nabonidus. No security was given the creditor, but he received an interest of twenty per cent.]

VI. BANKRUPTCY

1. Contract of the second year of Evil-Merodach, 560 B. C.

Two thirds of a mana of money, a loan from Bel-zir-epish, son of Shapik-zir, son of the smith, to Nabu-apla-iddin, son of Balatu, son of the * * *, a loan upon the Gin (of land) which was delivered unto the creditor, and (on) the house of Nabu-apla-iddin, (which) Nergal-sharra-uçur, son of Bel-shum-ishkun, has bought for money. One third mana of money for the payment wherewith the creditor is to be paid Marduk-apla-iddin, son of Bel-zir-epish, son of the smith, has received as agent for Nergal-sharra-uçur from Nabu-akhi-iddin, son of Shula, son of Egibi. The receipt for two thirds manas (which) Bel-zir-epish (loaned) to Nabu-apla-iddin, Marduk-apla-uçur, his son gave to Nergal-sharra-uçur. Until Marduk-apla-uçur unto the scribes of the king shall speak and shall receive the seal of possession, Nabu-akhi-iddin, son of Nabu-shum-iddin, son of Bel-shuktanu, shall hold the certificate of the receipt of the two thirds manas of money.

(This instrument is dated) Babylon, Nisan twenty-sixth, of the second year of Evil-Merodach.

[It exhibits how in a case of bankruptcy the interests of the creditor were conserved in the sale of the mortgaged property. It also proves that in Babylonian law the whole

value of the estate was not in such cases sacrificed to the creditor, but that the debtor could obtain the equity in his property which actually belonged to him.]

2. Contract from Neriglissar's accession year, 559 B. C.

Fifty-two and a half shekels of money, belonging to Iqisha-apla, son of Gilua, son of Sin-shadunu (are received) from Nabu-apla-iddin, son of Balatu, son of the * * *, upon the price of the house of Nabu-apla-iddin, which he purchased for cash for the palace. The balance remaining, twenty-six and a quarter shekels of money, Iqisha-apla, son of Gilua, son of Sin-shadunu, has received from the hand of Nabu-akhi-iddin, son of Shula, son of Egibi, and has given the receipt for fifty-two and a half shekels from Nabu-apla-iddin unto Nabu-akhi-iddin.

[This document is dated the ninth day of the intercalary month of Neriglissar's accession year. The place is Babylon. The scribe who wrote it, Iqisha-apli's son. A mortgage on the house of Nabu-apla-iddin, which a tablet dated in the reign of Evil-Merodach shows was then held by two persons, had been transferred to the hands of Iqisha-apla. It appears from the present transaction that half of the mortgage had been paid off. Apparently the remaining half could not be paid, and the house was sold. The purchaser was in this case the king, Neriglissar, who had but recently ascended the throne. Like many other regal purchasers he was short of funds, and was compelled to borrow the money from the head of the Egibi firm. The king appears to have taken the house for the sum of twenty-six and a quarter shekels, the half of the loan which remained unpaid, and to have compelled the holder of the mortgage to surrender to the banker all further claim to the property. Might made right in this case, and the equity was lost.[1]]

[1] Cf. Evetts, Ev. M. 16, and Peiser, "Rechtsleben," iii, 24. It should be said in justice to Neriglissar that there is some obscurity attaching to the case. In the first contract, which secured the two original creditors, there was a stipulation that in case the mortgage was not entered and

VII. POWER OF ATTORNEY

1. Contract of the first year of Evil-Merodach, 561 B. C.

ITTI-NABU-BALATU, the son of Shula, the son of Egibi, acts in place of Bel-kishir, his brother, (who) has not gone into business. With reference to their securities and whatever property belonged to Shula, their father, (which) they have shared with one another, in so far as it belongs to Bel-kishir, it shall go into the business, and whatever profit arises from traffic (literally, the street), however much he may gain in this way, he shall bring all unto and to Bel-kishir deliver. His hand for this he raised.

(This document is attested in the usual manner, and dated) Markheswan thirteenth, of Evil-Merodach's first year. [It clearly empowers one brother to act in business for another.]

2. Contract of the twelfth year of Artaxerxes, 452 B. C.

[Eighteen shekels] of money, rent belonging to [Arad-Anu-ilu-la-ilu-iprus and Shapi,] [sons of] Arad-belanu, of * * * From the month Tebet, of the twelfth year of Artaxerxes, Bel-akhi-iddin, son of Bel-abu-akhi, shall receive eighteen shekels of money from the empowered attorney,[1] Imsa-sharru-arda, son of Bel-iddin, on behalf of Arad-Anu-ilu-la-ilu-iprus and Shapi. He shall enter into the Temple of Sharru, into the little temple, the shrine, and shall deposit in the treasury the money, and the singer and the scribe shall receive it for the exalted divinity from the hand[2] of Bel-akhi-iddin, son of Bel-abu-akhi, on behalf of Khuru, the slave of Arad-Anu-ilu-la-ilu-iprus, and * * * Sharru-shu, son of Dan-ila.

sealed by the proper legal authorities, the rights under it should revert to Neriglissar. The action in this tablet may, therefore, have been taken in consequence of some irregularity. Nevertheless, even then the equity was lost through the greater power, knowledge, or craftiness of Neriglissar.

[1] The expression "ina qatu" means literally "by the hand of," but, as Peiser has pointed out, is the technical expression for "power of attorney."

[2] This might also be rendered "the empowered attorney."

[This document is dated in the twelfth year of Artaxerxes. It appears that the two brothers mentioned in it wished to make provision for a slave of one of them, who was perhaps being cared for at the Temple of Sharru. One man, perhaps their tenant, was empowered to pay to another the rent of a house of theirs; he in turn was empowered to take it to the temple and see that certain men receive it.]

VIII. MARRIAGE

1. Contract of the reign of Shamshu-ilu-na, about 2200 B. C.

RIMUM, son of Shamkhatum, has taken as a wife and spouse Bashtum, the daughter of Belizunu, the priestess (?) of Shamash, daughter of Uzibitum. Her bridal present shall be * * * shekels of money. When she receives it she shall be free. If Bashtum to Rimum, her husband, shall say, "Thou art not my husband," they shall strangle (?) her and cast her into the river. If Rimum to Bashtum, his wife, shall say, "Thou art not my wife," he shall pay ten shekels of money as her alimony. They swore by Shamash, Marduk, their king Shamshu-ilu-na, and Sippar.

[This marriage took place about 2200 B. C. The bride was a slave, and gained her freedom by marriage, and hence the penalty imposed upon her in case she divorced her husband is greater than that imposed on him in case he divorced her.]

2. Contract of the thirteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar II, 591 B. C.

Dagil-ili, son of Zambubu, spoke to Khamma, daughter of Nergal-iddin, son of Babutu, saying: "Give me Latubashinni, thy daughter; let her be my wife." Khamma heard, and gave him Latubashinni, her daughter, as a wife; and Dagil-ili, of his own free-will, gave Ana-eli-Bel-amur, a slave, which he had bought for half a mana of money, and half a mana therewith to Khamma instead of

Latubashinni, her daughter. On the day that Dagil-ili another wife shall take, Dagil-ili shall give one mana of money unto Latubashinni, and she shall return to her place —her former one. (Done) at the dwelling of Shum-iddin, son of Ishi-etir, son of Sin-damaqu.

[This contract is dated at Babylon, in the thirteenth year of the Biblical Nebuchadnezzar, and is an example of marriage by purchase—a form of marriage which had practically fallen into disuse at this time.]

3. Contract of the sixth year of Nabonidus, 549 B. C.

Nabu-nadin-akhi, son of Bel-akhi-iddin, son of Arad-Nergal, spoke to Shum-ukin, son of Mushallimu, saying, "Give as a wife Ina-Esaggil-banat, thy daughter, the virgin, to Uballit-su-Gula, my son." Shum-ukin hearkened to him, and gave Ina-Esaggil-banat, his virgin daughter, to Uballit-su-Gula, his son. He gave to Nabu-nadin-akhi one mana of money, Latubashinni, Ina-çilli-biti-nakhat, Taslimu, and the outfit for a house with Ina-Esaggil-banat, his daughter, as her dowry. Shum-ukin has given to Nabu-nadin-akhi Nana-kishirat, his slave toward the one mana of money of the dowry, instead of two thirds of a mana of money, at the full price. Shum-ukin will pay to Nabu-nadin-akhi one third of a mana of money, the balance of one mana, and he shall receive his dowry completed to one (mana) in what it lacks.

[This document is dated in the sixth year of Nabonidus, and is a good example of marriage with a dowry.]

IX. DIVORCE

1. Contract of the third year of Nabonidus, 552 B. C.

NA'ID-MARDUK, son of Shamash-balatsu-iqbi, will give, of his own free-will, to Ramua, his wife, and Arad-Bunini, his son, per day four qa of food, three qa of drink; per year

fifteen manas of goods, one pi sesame, one pi salt, which is at the store-house. Na'id-Marduk will not increase it. In case she flees to Nergal * * * the flight shall not annul it. (Done) at the office of Mushezib-Marduk, priest of Sippar.

[This document, which bears the date of the third year of Nabonidus, is apparently a legal divorce, in which the wife is granted alimony. The marriage contracts, given above under VIII, make it unnecessary further to illustrate the workings of Babylonian divorce laws. In VIII, 1, the bride was a slave, and at her marriage was given, apparently by her husband, a small sum of money and her freedom. He might, therefore, divorce her by giving her a small alimony of ten shekels; but if she divorces him, she was to be put to death. This contract was not peculiar to the early period of its date, but has parallels in the later period in the case of brides who were slaves. In VIII, 2, the case is different. The husband purchased a free bride; hence, if he divorced her, he must give her an alimony six times as great as that given to the emancipated slave of the previous contract. In VIII, 3, the bride received a dowry, so that no provision for divorce was necessary, since, as the court decisions given below prove, the dowry was always the property of the wife. In case of her divorce the husband lost it, hence this was a check on divorce, while it assured the wife a living in case divorce occurred.]

X. ADOPTION

1. Old Babylonian contract from before 2000 B. C.

ARAD-ISKHARA, son of Ibni-Shamash, has adopted Ibni-Shamash. On the day when Arad-Iskhara to Ibni-Shamash, his father, shall say, "Thou art not my father," he shall bind him with a chain and sell him for money. When Ibni-Shamash to Arad-Iskhara, his son, shall say, "Thou art not my son," he shall depart from house and

household goods; but a son shall he remain and inherit with his sons.

[This tablet, which dates from before 2000 B. C., needs no explanation. It makes the form and conditions of adoption sufficiently clear.]

2. Contract of the ninth year of Nabonidus, 544 B. C.

Bel-kaçir, son of Nadinu, son of Sagillai, spake thus to Nadinu, his father, son of Ziri-ya, son of Sagillai: "To Bit-turni thou didst send me and I took Zunna as my wife, and she has not borne me son or daughter. Bel-ukin, son of Zunna, my wife, whom she bore to her former husband, Niqudu, son of Nur-Sin, let me adopt and let him be my son; on a tablet record his sonship, and seal and bequeath to him our revenues and property, as much as there is, and let him be the son taken by our hands." Nadinu was not pleased with the word Bel-kaçir, his son, spoke to him. Nadinu had written on a tablet, "For the future any other one is not to take their revenues and property," and had bound the hands of Bel-kaçir, and had published in the midst, saying: "On the day when Nadinu goes to his fate, after him, if a son shall be born from the loins of Bel-kaçir, his son shall inherit the revenues and properties of Nadinu, his father; if a son is not born from the loins of Bel-kaçir, Bel-kaçir shall adopt his brother and fellow-heir, and shall bequeath his revenues and the properties of Nadinu his father to him. Bel-kaçir may not adopt any other one, but shall take his brother and fellow-heir unto sonship on account of the revenues and properties which Nadinu has bequeathed."

(From this point the tablet is too broken for translation until we reach the witnesses. It was dated) at Babylon in the ninth year of Nabonidus.

[This document illustrates not only the method of adoption, but the way in which that process might be made impossible by the will of an ancestor in cases involving property.]

3. Contract of the thirteenth year of Nabonidus, 542 B. C.

Iqisha-apla, son of Kuduru, son of Nur-Sin, had sealed a tablet of adoption for his slave, Rimanni-Bel, whose name he called Rimut, in consideration of his living and clothing. After that the tablet of adoption was sealed. Rammani-Bel, whose name is called Rimut, went away and did not give companionship, nourishment, and clothing. Esaggil-ramat, daughter of Ziri-ya, son of Nabai, wife of Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqisha-apla, son of Nur-Sin, has taken him, given him shelter and befriended him, and has given him friendship, nourishment, and clothing. Iqisha-apla, son of Kuduru, son of Nur-Sin, of his own free-will broke the tablet of adoption and sealed him and has delivered him to Esaggil-ramat, and Nubtai, his daughter, the daughter of Iddin-Marduk, son of Nur-Sin. He shall serve Esaggil-ramat and Nubtai, her daughter; after Esaggil-ramat, he is given unto Nubtai, her daughter. Whoever shall annul this word and present bond, which Iqisha-apla has bound and given to Esaggil-ramat and Nubtai, his daughter, may Marduk and Çarpanit command his destruction!

(This instrument is dated) at Babylon, in the thirteenth year of Nabonidus.

[We saw above (VIII, 1) that marriage was a means of emancipation; the tablet last given shows that adoption was a still more common method of accomplishing it. In the case before us, a man who, judging from the generations of his descendants mentioned, must have been very old, emancipated or adopted his slave on condition that the slave should take care of him. The slave thus adopted ran away and fell into the hands of the granddaughter of his former master, whereupon that master destroyed the tablet of adoption, and issued another tablet, which bound the fugitive in slavery to his granddaughter and great-granddaughter forever.]

XI. INHERITANCE

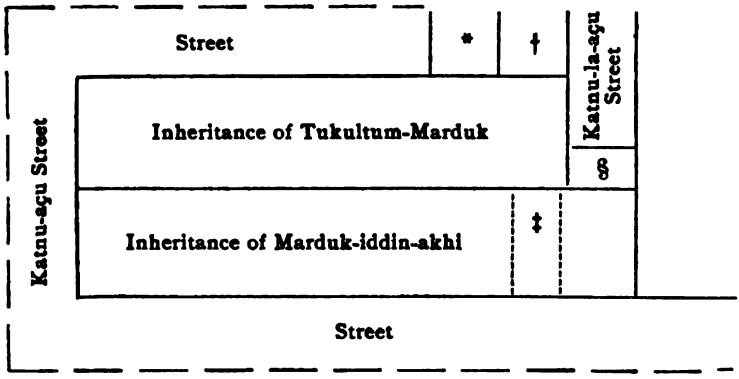
A good example of a will has already been given (X, 2). It appears there that wills like that of Nadinu would stand in spite of the wishes of some of the heirs. We may here illustrate the division of estates among the heirs.

1. Contract of the third year of Cyrus, 535 B. C.

TABLET concerning the division into GIN of an estate, the dowry of Banat-Esaggil, their mother, which Marduk-iddin-akhi, son of Nabu-bel-shinati, son of Nur-Papsukal, divided and of which he gave to Tukultum-Marduk, son of Nabu-bel-shinati, son of Nur-Papsukal, his brother, his portion. Thirty-three and two thirds cubits, the upper long side on the north, twenty cubits bordering on the street of * * *, the side of the house of Ina-qibi-Bel, son of Balatu, son of the Rab-Uru, and the side of the house of Nabu-uballit, son of Kabtiya, son of Nabu-shimi; thirty-three cubits and eight hands, the lower long side on the south, by the side of the house of Marduk-iddin-akhi, son of Nabu-bel-shinati, son of Nur-Papsukal; thirteen cubits eight hands, the upper short side on the west, bordering on the street Katnu-açu, thirteen cubits eight hands, the lower short side on the east, eight cubits eight hands (being on) an alley which is eight fingers wide, on the side of the street Katnu-la-açu; the sum is eight and two thirds GIN, the measurement of the estate, the portion of Tukultum-Marduk, together with two GIN, the difference * * *, which the chief justice, the shukkaltum and the judges have written upon the tablet and have granted to Tukultum-Marduk, son of Nabu-bel-shanati, son of Nur-Papsukal, from Marduk-iddin-akhi, son of Nabu-bel-shanati, his brother. Marduk-iddin-akhi has thus given it to Tukultum-Marduk. An exit, an inalienable privilege which belongs to the share of Tukultum-Marduk, Marduk-iddin-akhi, son of Nabu-bel-shanati, son of Nur-Papsukal, will not remove from Tukultum-Marduk, his brother. Their suit with one another concerning their estate is ended. They will not move against one another on the basis of the suit about the

estate. In order that neither may undertake it they have issued duplicate (tablets).

[This instrument was executed at Borsippa in the third year of Cyrus. The subjoined diagram will make the division of the estate clear:



* House of Ina-qibi-Bel. † House of Nabu-uballit.
‡ The inalienable right of exit possessed by Tukultum-Marduk.
§ This space is not a part of the street Katnu-la-açu, but more likely the extra two GIN mentioned in the text.

2. Contract of the second year of Nabonidus, 553 B. C.

Gugua, daughter of Zaqir, son of an Isinian, of her own free-will has sealed one mana of money, which with Nabu-akhi-iddin, son of Shula, son of Egibi, is deposited—one half mana five shekels of money which is loaned to Tabnia, son of Nabu-ushallim, son of Sin-shadanu, for which a house is mortgaged; one third mana of money, which is loaned to Tashmitu-ramat, daughter of Arad-Bel, son of Egibi; a productive field, situated on the canal of the town Kish; (all) her dowry; and allotted it to Ea-zir-ibni, her eldest son. One and a half manas six shekels of money Gugua has apportioned, in the absence of Ea-zir-ibni, to her younger sons, Nabu-akhi-uballit, Nergal-ishi-etir, Itti-Shamash-balatu, and Zamama-pir-uçur. Ea-zir-ibni shall not molest them in consequence of it. One mana of money, which is

deposited with Nabu-akhi-iddin; one half mana, which is in the possession of Tabnia, one third mana, which is in the possession of Tashmitu-ramat, Gugua has allotted, together with the cultivated field, to Ea-zir-ibni, her eldest son. As long as Gugua lives, Ea-zir-ibni shall give, from the income of his money, food and a living to Gugua, his mother. Whatever it contains, Gugua shall not out of affection give away, nor make a division in the foregoing. Ea-zir-ibni need fear no creditor.

[This document, dated at Babylon in the second year of Nabonidus, illustrates how some Babylonians disposed of property before death. Gugua was evidently a widow. She divided her estate among her sons, giving to the eldest the largest portion, on condition that during her lifetime he should feed and clothe her. In return she guarantees to alienate none of his inheritance, nor to run him into debt.]

XII. LEGAL DECISIONS

1. Tablet from the accession year of Nabonidus, 555 B. C.

BELILIT, daughter of Bel-ushezib, son of the road-master (?), deposed to the judges of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, saying: "In the month Ab, of the first year of Neriglissar, King of Babylon, I sold Bazuzu, my slave, for half a mana five shekels of money to Nabu-akhi-iddin, son of Shula, son of Egibi;[1] I took his note, but he has not paid the money." The judges of the king heard, and they summoned Nabu-akhi-iddin and set him before them. Nabu-akhi-iddin produced the receipt, which Belilit had given, that she had received the money, the price of Bazuzu, and showed it to the judges. Ziriya, Nabu-shum-lishir, and Ebilu had embezzled the money of Belilit, their mother; he established it before the judges. The judges deliberated and they took from Belilit one half mana five

[1] This transaction is still extant. Cf. Strassmaier, 6th O. C., No. 113, and Evetts, Ner. 23.

shekels of money, as much as he had paid, and gave it to Nabu-akhi-iddin.

(This decision, which is signed by six judges and the clerk of the court, is dated) at Babylon, in the accession year of Nabonidus.

[It is clear from this case that a false suit did not, according to Babylonian law, result in a simple dismissal; a fine, equal to the sum unjustly sued for, was imposed on the plaintiff and paid to the defendant. This must have been a powerful deterrent to unjust claims, since they were likely to result in benefiting the defendant by as much as the plaintiff sought to injure him.]

2. Tablet of the ninth year of Nabonidus, 546 B. C.

Bunanit, daughter of the Kharizite, deposed to the judges of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, saying: "Ben-Hadad-natan, son of Nikbata, took me as his wife, and received three manas of money as my dowry. I bore him one daughter. I and Ben-Hadad-natan, my husband, gained by selling and buying with the money of my dowry, and we bought eight GIN of an estate, land not far beyond the midst of Borsippa, for nine and two thirds manas of money, including two and a half manas of money which was borrowed from Iddin-Marduk, son of Basha, son of Nur-Sin; we added to the other, and paid [1] for the price of that estate; and we traded together in the fourth year of Nabonidus, King of Babylon. Since my dowry was with Ben-Hadad-natan, my husband, I asked for it, and Ben-Hadad-natan, in the kindness of his heart, sealed and devised to me for the future the eight GIN of that estate which is in Borsippa, and declared it on my tablet, saying: 'Two and a half manas of money which Ben-Hadad-natan and Bunanit from Iddin-Marduk borrowed was paid toward the price of that estate; they transacted it together.' That tablet he sealed, and wrote upon it the curse of the great gods. In the fifth year of Nabonidus, King of Babylon,

[1] The documents recording these transactions have been recovered. One of them is published above (V, 3).

I and Ben-Hadad-natan, my husband, adopted Ben-Hadad-amara. We wrote the tablet of his adoption, and we announced the dowry of Nubta, my daughter, two manas ten shekels of money, and the furniture of a house. Fate took my husband, and now Iqbi-ilu, the son of my father-in-law, has laid a claim to the estate and all which he had sealed and devised to me and upon Nabu-nur-ilani, whom we purchased through the agency of Nabu-akhi-iddin. I have brought it before you; make a decision." The judges heard their complaint; they discussed the tablets and documents which Bunanit brought before them, and they granted Iqbi-ilu no power over the house in Borsippa, which instead of her dowry had been devised unto Bunanit, over Nabu-nur-ilani, whom she and her husband had bought for silver, nor over anything belonging to Ben-Hadad-natan. To Bunanit and Ben-Hadad-amara they established them in consequence of their tablets. Iddin-Marduk is paid and receives his two and a half manas of money, which they paid on the price of that estate. Afterward Bunanit shall receive the three and a half manas of her dowry, and besides her share Nubta shall receive Nabu-nur-ilani, according to the will of her father.

[The record of this suit, which bears the date of the ninth year of Nabonidus, received the signatures of six judges and two clerks. None of the judges are the same as those who signed the record of Belilit's suit except Nergal-banunu, who was then clerk of the court, but had at the time of Bunanit's suit become chief justice.]

XIII. SOME OTHER PHASES OF COURT PROCEDURE

1. Tablet of the eighth year of Cyrus, 529 B. C.

NABU-AKHI-UBALLIT, son of Shu * * *, the inspector of the city Shakhrin * * *, on the twenty-eighth day of Adar, in the eighth year of Cyrus, King of Babylon, king

of countries, deposed to Bel-uballit, the notary[1] of Sippar, saying: "I took Nana-iddin, son of Bau-ulid, into my house, saying: 'Am I the brother of thy father and the inspector of the city? Why hast thou raised thy hand against me?' Ramman-sharra-uçur, son of Nabu-ushezib; Lulgiya and Irba, his brothers; Kutka-ili, son of Bau-ulid; Bel-uballit, son of Bariki-ili; Bel-akhi-uçur, son of Ramman-ushallim; and Iqisha-apla, son of Shamash-sharra-uçur, have broken open my door like demons; and from my house, when they had forced an entrance, they took one mana of my money."

[This document bears the names of four witnesses and a scribe; it is dated Adar twenty-eighth, eighth year of Cyrus. This was not the end of the matter, as the next tablet will show.]

2. Tablet of the eighth year of Cyrus, 529 B. C.

* * * They came and they saw the fracture (?) of the door and the rending of the threshold. Shamash-iddin, son of Ziriya, assembled the elders of the city, and then he placed Nana-iddin under bonds to Nabu-(akhi-bullit), together with Nabu(?)-iddin, son of Pir'a, Nabu-etir-napshati, son of Rimut, son of * * *, Iqibu, son of Pir'a, son of the priest of Gula, Shamash-lama', son of Submadu, Bel-ushallim, son of Bel-akhi-iddin, son of Shigua, Nabu-ushezib, son of Nabu-ukin-akhi, Ramman(?)-sharra-uçur, son of Abu-nu-epish, * * *, son of * * *. (Their hands) against him they raised, (the door of his house) (they broke), into his house (they entered). (Under the l(aw concerning the house) they are gui(lty). Shamash-iddin, son of Ziriya, when he was rigorously examining them concerning the house, declared, saying—also Ramman-sharra-uçur, son of Nabu-ushezib, Nabu-uballit, son of Bariki-ili, Irba, son of Bau-ulid, Lulgia, son of Nabu-ushezib, Bel-akhi-uçur, son of Ramman-ushallim, declared, saying—also Kutka-ili, son of Bau-ulid, Bel-uballit, son of Bariki-ili, declared, saying: "I was there

[1] Literally "priest," but often this word stands for scribe.

when we drew near the door." Ramman-(sharra-uçur, son of Nabu-ushezib, also declared, saying:) I * * *[1] Adar thirtieth, eighth year of (Cyrus, King of Babylon).

[The two preceding tablets have preserved the record of a crimnal case in Sippar, in the reign next after that of Nabonidus, the work of whose judges we saw in XII. Here the elders of the city, as in the Old Testament, try the case, but apparently with thoroughness and justice, though what sentence they imposed does not appear. A similar case appears in Hilprecht and Clay's Texts, ix No. 69, in which the owner agrees to abandon legal proceedings if the stolen property is restored.]

3. Contract of the twelfth year of Nabonidus, 543 B. C.

Three manas fifty shekels of money, which the judges wrote on the tablet and gave to Bel-rimanni, son of Labashi-Marduk, son of Ina-Ramman-takallal, and concerning the tablet of Arad-gula and Damqana, his wife, and concerning the slaves and house which he pledged, Bel-rimanni (ask)ed. Nergal-uballit the full claim against Arad-Gula allowed, saying: "I grant the full claim, all of it, which Arad-Gula has not met, to Bel-rimanni, upon the slaves and house, which were pledged. Bel-rimanni has brought before the judges of the king Ana-Tashmit-atkal, Amtiya, Nana-ana-biti-shu, and Zamama-iddin, the people of the house of Arad-Gula, the house which was pledged, the slaves which they had mortgaged to Bel-rimanni, according to his tablet, instead of three manas fifty shekels of money, the full price, are given, received, taken; there is nothing further." And in order that there may be no renewal and an appeal be made concerning those slaves to the judges, they have written a tablet, sealed it with their seals, and have given it to Bel-rimanni.

(The names of the judges follow, together with the date:) Babylon, Shebat twenty-sixth, twelfth year of Nabonidus. [This document is a legal execution, and needs no comment.]

[1] Some lines are wanting.

4. Contract of the thirty-seventh year of Artaxerxes, 427 B. C.

Bel-akhi-iddin, son of Bel-na'id, of his own free-will spoke to Bel-shum-iddin, son of Murashu, saying: "Deliver unto me Nidintum-Bel, son of Eshi-etir, my brother, who is held in prison. I will become his surety that he does not go from Nippur to another place." Whereupon Bel-shum-iddin, son of Murashu, hearkened to him, and delivered unto him Nidintum-Bel, son of Eshi-etir, his brother, who was held in prison. On the day when Nidintum-Bel, son of Eshi-etir, shall go without the judge's permit from Nippur to another place, Bel-akhi-iddin shall pay to Bel-shum-iddin ten manas of money.

(The above is dated) at Nippur in the thirty-seventh year of Artaxerxes I. [It is clearly the record of a bond by means of which a man went bail for his nephew.]

THE BABYLONIAN ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION

LONG since, when above the heaven had not been named,
when the earth beneath (still) bore no name,
when the ocean (apsu), the primeval, the generator of them, and
the originator (?) Tiamat, who brought forth them both [1]—
their waters were mingled together;
when fields were (still) unformed, reeds (still) nowhere to be seen.
Long since, when no one of the gods had been called into being,
when no name had been named, no fates [had been determined];
then were created the gods, [all of them?].
Luchmu and Lachamu were called into being [as the first?].[2]
Ages multiplied [and days grew old?];
An-shar (and) Ki-shar [3] were created.
Long were the days * * * [before?]
Anu, [Bel, and Ea were created, the great gods?]
An-shar and Ki[-shar * * *]

[What follows is broken off.]

[1] That is, heaven and earth. How this was done, see p. 294, line 34, to p. 295, line 8.

[2] This oldest pair of gods is mentioned also elsewhere.

[3] The personifications of the upper and the lower world.

Two new fragments discovered by Professor Carl Bezold in the British Museum collection appear to belong to this first tablet. The former relates how Apsu and Tiamat bewailed the creation of light and how their son Mummu (the Μωῦμις of Damascius) reveals unto them a plan to change the light back again into utter darkness.

Let the light be darkened, like night may [it be.
Upon hearing this Apsu's face brightened up.
They planned evil against the gods [, their first-born].

[After another break of some fifteen or twenty lines, there follows the account of the revolt of Tiamat against the upper gods, which is found four times in the same form in this account of the creation.]

Tiamat, the mother of the gods, turned against them in hatred
with all her force; she is bitterly enraged.
To her turn the gods, without exception.
[Even those, whom Luchmu and Lachamu created, go to her aid]
They are banded together, and at the side of Tiamat they advance;
cursing the day (light), they follow Tiamat.
Angry, plotting, restless by day and by night,
ready for the fray, fuming and raging,
they banded themselves together and started the revolt.
The mother of the deep,[1] the creator of all,
has made in addition invincible weapons, spawning monster serpents,
sharp of tooth, and unsparing of fang;
with poison instead of blood she filled their bodies.
Monster vipers, fierce ones, she clothed with terror,
decked them with awful splendour, and made them high of stature (?),
that their aspect might inject terror and arouse horror.
Their bodies are inflated, irresistible is their attack.

[1] Tiamat.

The viper she created, the dragon, and the lachamu,[1]
the storm-giant, the mad hound, and the scorpion-man,
the raging storms, the fish-man, and the ram,
provided with weapons, unmerciful, not dreading a fight;
defiant of mind, invincible against all enemies.
In addition to creating thus these eleven,
she exalted among the gods, her sons, whom she had borne,
Kingu, and made him greatest among them all (saying):
"To march before the host, let that be thy mission;
Command the weapons to strike, the attack to begin."
To be foremost in war, supreme in victory,
she intrusted to him; and placed him upon a throne (saying):
"By my charm and incantation[2] I have raised thee to power among the gods.
The dominion over all the gods I intrusted to thee.
Lofty thou shalt be, thou my chosen spouse;
Great be thy name in all the [world]."
She then gave him the Tablets of Destiny, and laid them upon his breast (saying):
"Thy command be never annulled, firm stand the word of thy mouth."
Thus exalted and having obtained divine power[3]
among the gods, her children, Kingu ruled.
"Let the opening of your mouth quench the fire;
he that excels in bravery, let him rise in power."

The second tablet opens with a verbatim report of the situation described in the second half of the first tablet, to the god An-shar, who becomes greatly distressed and excited, smites his sides in anger and wrath, bites his lips, and breaks out in cries of fury. One of the gods ventures to suggest that it would certainly be possible for An-shar, the great warrior, to slay Apsu, and fight successfully with Tiamat. Then follows a break, and after that, An-shar

[1] Monster (?); a being different, of course, from the two gods mentioned in the beginning of this tablet, line 10.
[2] Referring to the lines "To march, *etc.*—begin."
[3] Literally, the Anu-ship; that is, the power of god Anu.

BABYLONIAN ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION.

Bilingual tablet from Abû-Habbah, the ancient Sippara.

Obverse.

Reverse.

turns to his son Anu, "the powerful, courageous hero, whose strength and power [are great] and whose onslaught is irresistible," and calls upon him to defeat Tiamat:

" [Get thee] and before Tiamat stand thou up;
Perchance her anger be quieted and her heart be softened.
[But if she resists] and hearkens not to thy word,
[speak * * * to her], and then she may be quieted."
And Anu listened to the word of An-shar, his father.
Straightway he went to her; to her he marched.
But as he [approached] and beheld the awful visage of Tiamat,
Anu took fright and fled in haste.

What he reported to An-shar is not preserved. From Tablet III, 54, it may be gathered that An-shar then turned to Nudimmud,[1] but here he pleaded also in vain. Thereupon Marduk, Ea's son, volunteers to fight Tiamat, but under conditions which he communicated forthwith to An-shar, his grandfather (whom, however, he addresses as "father," meaning, no doubt, "father of the gods"). An-shar accedes to his conditions, and promises him great reward and high honours. The closing lines of the second tablet are thus:

Marduk heard the word of his father.[2]
His heart [rejoiced] and he spoke thus to his father:
" O lord of the gods, fate-determiner of the great gods,
when indeed I shall become your avenger,
conquering Tiamat and thus saving your lives,
assemble the gods and proclaim my control as supreme.
In Ubshukenna[3] then enter ye all joyfully,
and my authority instead of thine shall assume control.[4]

[1] Or Nugimmud, a name for Ea, the father of Marduk (Merodach).
[2] Meaning An-shar.
[3] Name of the Chamber of Fates, the assembly room where the gods annually on New-Year's day gather to determine the lot to king and to the nation.
[4] Also translated, "With my word, instead of thine, I will determine the lot."

Let whatsoever I do remain unaltered;
unchangeable and irrevocable be ever the command of my lips."

An-shar opened his mouth, and
to Gaga, his messenger, he said:
" Go, Gaga, my messenger, thou who rejoicest my heart,
to Luchmu and Lachamu I will send thee;
willingly then hear the command of my heart.
[* * *] thy [* * *] before thee
[invite to the assembly] the gods, them all;
[may they sit down at table], partake at the feast;
[may eat bread] and mix the wine,
[may mount] their [seats] and decree the fate.[1]
Go, then, Gaga, stand before them,[2]
[the word that I now tell thee], repeat unto them (and say):
An-shar, your son,[3] has sent me (to you),
the command of his heart he intrusted to me (saying):
Tiamat, our mother, turned against us in hatred
with all her force; she is bitterly enraged.
To her turn the gods, without exception.
Even those, created by you, go to her aid.
They are banded together, and at the side of Tiamat they advance;
cursing the day (light), they follow Tiamat.
Angry, plotting, restless by day and by night,
ready for the fray, fuming and raging,
they banded themselves together and started the revolt.
The mother of the deep, the creator of all,
has made in addition invincible weapons, spawning monster-serpents,
sharp of tooth, and unsparing of fang;
with poison instead of blood she filled their bodies;
monster-vipers, fierce ones, she clothed with terror,

[1] These four lines, no doubt, indicate what the gods are to do before Marduk goes forth to defeat Tiamat.
[2] Meaning Luchmu and Lachamu.
[3] See Tablet I, p. 282, lines 10 and 12.

decked them with awful splendour and made them high of stature (?),
that their aspect might inject terror and arouse horror.
Their bodies are inflated, irresistible is their attack.
The viper she created, the dragon, and the lachamu,
the storm-giant, the mad hound, and the scorpion-man,
the raging storms, the fish-man, and the ram,
provided with weapons, unmerciful, not dreading a fight;
defiant of mind, invincible against all enemies.
In addition to creating thus these eleven,
she exalted among the gods, her sons, that she had borne,
Kingu, and made him greatest among them all (saying):
'To march before the host, let that be thy mission;
Command the weapons to strike, the attack to begin.'
To be foremost in war, supreme in victory,
she intrusted to him, and placed him upon a throne (saying):
'By my charm and incantation I have raised thee to power among the gods.
The dominion over all the gods I intrusted to thee.
Lofty thou shalt be, thou my chosen spouse;
Great be thy name in all the world.'
She then gave him the Tablets of Destiny, and laid them upon his breast (saying):
'Thy command be never annulled, firm stand the word of thy mouth.'
Thus exalted and having obtained divine power,
among the gods, her children, Kingu ruled.
'Let the opening of your mouth quench the fire;
he that excels in bravery, let him rise in power.'
I sent Anu, but he dared not to face her.
Nudimmud was afraid and turned to flight.
Then I called upon Marduk, the counsellor of gods, your son;
To go against Tiamat he has set his mind.
He opened his mouth and thus spoke unto me:
'When indeed I shall become your avenger,
conquering Tiamat, and thus saving your lives,

assemble all the gods and proclaim my control as supreme.
In Ubshukenna then enter ye all joyfully,
and my authority instead of thine shall assume control.
Let whatsoever I do remain unaltered;
unchangeable and irrevocable be ever the command of my lips.'
Hasten, then, and quickly deliver your dominion to him,
that he may go and meet your enemy, the mighty!"
Gaga departed and wended his way
until he came to Luchmu and Lachamu, the gods, his fathers.
There he prostrated himself, kissing the ground at their feet.
He bowed down, rose up again, and spoke thus unto them:
"An-shar, your son, has sent me to you,
the command of his heart he intrusted to me, (saying):
'Tiamat, our mother, turned against us in hatred
with all her force; she is bitterly enraged.
To her turn the gods, without exception.
Even those, created by you, go to her aid.
They are banded together, and at the side of Tiamat they advance;
cursing the day (light), they follow Tiamat.
Angry, plotting, restless by day and by night,
ready for the fray, fuming and raging,
they banded themselves together, and started the revolt.
The mother of the deep, the creator of all,
has made in addition invincible weapons, spawning monster-serpents,
sharp of tooth, and unsparing of fang;
with poison instead of blood she filled their bodies;
monster-vipers, fierce ones, she clothed with terror,
decked them with awful splendour, and made them high of stature (?),
that their aspect might inject terror and arouse horror.
Their bodies are inflated, irresistible is their attack.
The viper she created, the dragon, and the lachamu,
the storm-giant, the mad hound, and the scorpion-man,

the raging storms, the fish-man, and the ram,
provided with weapons, unmerciful, not dreading a fight,
defiant of mind, invincible against all enemies.
In addition to creating thus these eleven,
she exalted among the gods, her sons, that she had borne,
Kingu, and made him greatest among them all (saying):
'To march before the host, let that be thy mission;
Command the weapons to strike, the attack to begin.'
To be foremost in war, supreme in victory,
she intrusted to him, and placed him upon a throne (saying):
'By my charm and incantation I have raised thee to power among the gods.
The dominion over all the gods I intrusted to thee.
Lofty thou shalt be, thou my chosen spouse;
Great be thy name in all the [world].'
She then gave him the Tablets of Destiny, and laid them upon his breast (saying):
'Thy command be never annulled, firm stand the word of thy mouth.'
Thus exalted and having obtained divine power,
among the gods, her children, Kingu ruled.
'Let the opening of your mouth quench the fire;
he that excels in bravery, let him rise in power.'
I sent Anu, but he dared not to face her.
Nudimmud was afraid and turned to flight.
Then I called upon Marduk, the counsellor of gods, your son;
To go against Tiamat he has set his mind.
He opened his mouth and thus spoke unto me:
'When indeed I shall become your avenger,
conquering Tiamat, and thus saving your lives,
assemble all the gods and proclaim my control as supreme.
In Ubshukenna then enter ye all joyfully,
and my authority instead of thine shall assume control.
Let whatsoever I do remain unaltered;
unchangeable and irrevocable be ever the command of my lips.'

Hasten, then, and quickly deliver your dominion to him,
that he may go and meet your enemy, the mighty!' "
When Luchmu and Lachamu heard this, [their heart became frightened],
and the host of heaven's gods were wailing bitterly, (saying):
"What indeed has happened that they conceived hatred (?);
we can not understand the [actions] of Tiamat."
Then they gathered together, proceeded to [* * *];
the great gods, all of them, who decree fate,
entered in before An-shar, and filled [the chamber?].
They encouraged one another by gathering together, and
sat down to the banquet, [and partook of] the meal;
Ate bread and mixed [wine].
The sweet wine confused their senses,
drinking they waxed drunk, their bodies were filled (with meat and drink);
They became bewildered, their [spirits] rose, and
to Marduk, their avenger, they intrusted the rule.

Thereupon the gods placed Marduk on the royal throne,
surpassing his fathers in power, he took his place as decider and ruler.
[When Marduk had taken his seat, the gods addressed him in the following words:]
" Yea, thou art the honoured among the great gods;
thy destiny is unequalled, thy word is 'Anu'[1] indeed.
O Marduk, thou art the honoured among the great gods;
thy destiny is unequalled, thy word is 'Anu' indeed.
Henceforth thy command shall be absolute;
To exalt and to abase shall be within thy power.
Verily, thy word shall be supreme, thy command irresistible.
None among the gods shall trespass upon thy dominion.
May abundance, the desire of the shrines of the gods,
while they are in want, be showered upon thy sanctuary!
Marduk, as thou indeed wilt become our avenger,
we gladly give thee dominion over the whole world.

[1] That is, thy power is equal to that of god Anu.

In the council (of the gods) may thy word always prevail;
thy weapon be always victorious, crushing the foe and the enemy!
O lord, spare thou the life of him that putteth his trust in thee;
but as for the god who led the rebellion, pour out the blood of his life."
Thereupon the gods spread out in their midst a garment;
to Marduk, their first-born, they spoke:
"Thy rule, O lord, shall surpass that of the gods,
to vanish and to create—speak thou, and thus it shall be.
Open thy mouth and command, and the garment shall disappear;
Speak then again, and the garment shall reappear."
As Marduk uttered the word, the garment disappeared;
and again he spoke, and, behold, the garment was there.
When the gods, his fathers, beheld such power of his word,
they greeted him joyfully, saying, "Marduk is king."
They invested him with sceptre, with throne, and with ring (?),
and gave him a weapon, unequalled, to kill the enemy.
"Go, now" (they said), "and cut asunder the life-thread of Tiamat,
let the winds carry her blood to hidden regions."[1]
Thus the gods, his fathers, fixed the destiny of Bel (-Merodach)
and wished him safety and success in the work upon which he entered.
He made ready a bow, he girded his weapon upon him;
He prepared a lance, to be used in the fight before him.
A club he took also; in his right hand he grasped it.
The bow and the quiver he hung at his side.
He made a flash of lightning to go before him,
whose midst he filled with destructive fire.
He made a net wherewith to inclose the life of Tiamat.
The four winds he set, so that she might not escape.

[1] That is, far away.

The south wind and north wind, the east wind and west wind
he brought near to the net, which his father Anu had given him.
He created the evil wind, the storm, and the hurricane,
The fourfold wind, the sevenfold wind, the whirlwind, the wind without equal;
Then he let loose the winds which he had created, seven in all.
To destroy the life of Tiamat, they swept along after him.
Then Bel (the lord) grasped the "storm," his mighty weapon,
He mounted his chariot, an object unequalled for terror,
harnessed to it the four fiery steeds,
horses, ferocious, courageous, and swift;
their teeth full of slaver, their bodies flecked with foam,
trained in galloping, and knowing how to trample underfoot.
[And Marduk stood up in it], the battle-hero,
[looking toward right and toward] left, making up his mind,
[* * *] armed with furor;
Majestic halo surrounded his head.
He made straight for her and drew nigh unto her.
Where Tiamat the furious stood, he set his face.
Upon his lip [* * *] holding
a magic herb he grasped with his finger.
At that hour the gods beheld him with admiration,
The gods, his fathers, beheld him with admiration, indeed.
Nearer drew Bel (the lord) anxious to fight Tiamat,
and seeking to capture Kingu, her spouse.
When the latter saw him he became distraught,
his mind deranged, his actions confused.
And the gods, his helpers, who marched by his side,
Beheld their leader's distress, and they looked terrified.
Tiamat [alone] stood ground, turned not her neck,
with her lip uttering taunts of defiance:
"Against the, O Bel, the gods take up the fight.

Where they are gathered, there is now thy place."
But Bel brandished the "storm," his great weapon,
and reproached Tiamat for what she had done (saying):
"Below thou art mighty, yea! lofty above.
But thy heart drove thee to stir up destructive fight,
un[til the gods? forsook] their fathers for thee.
Around thee thou hast gathered] them, shown hatred [to us?].
Chosest Kingu to be thy husband and spouse,
and bestowedst upon him divine power.
* * *] thou hast planned strife.
To the gods, my fathers, thou didst evil.
Thus, then, may thy host be tied, thy weapons be bound.
Stand! I and thou, come let us fight!"
But Tiamat, when she heard these words,
acted like one possessed, and she lost her senses.
Tiamat shrieked out wild and loud.
Trembling, her whole frame shook through and through.
She uttered a spell, recited an incantation.
And also the gods of battle charm their weapons.
Then they approached one another, Tiamat and Marduk, the counsellor of gods.
To the fight they rushed, advanced to the battle.
Bel spread out his net and inclosed her.
The evil wind, following him, he let loose against her;
and when Tiamat opened her mouth to swallow (the evil wind),
Marduk quickly drove in the evil wind, ere she could shut her lips.
The terrible winds inflated her stomach;
she lost her reason; gasping, still wider she opened her mouth.
He seized his lance and plunged it down into her stomach.
Her entrails he pierced, cut through her heart.
He overpowered her and put an end to her life,
threw down her carcass and stood upon it.
Now that Tiamat, the leader, had been slain,
her host was broken up, her throng was scattered.

The gods, her helpers, who marched by her side,
trembled and feared, turned backward to flight,
and tried to escape, to save their lives.
But they were surrounded, so that none could escape;
Bel took them captive and broke their weapons.
They were caught in the net, they sat in the snare,
and filled with their wailing the whole wide world.
Punishment they had to endure, and were held in prison.
The eleven creatures, also, which she had created with terrors,
a horde of demons, which had marched by her side,
he placed into fetters, and [tied] their hands;
and he trampled under his feet their resistance.
Moreover, Kingu, who had been great above all of them,
he bound and did unto him like unto the [other] gods (?),
tore away from him the Tablets of Destiny, which hung on his breast;
With his own seal he sealed them and laid them upon his own breast.
Now, after Marduk had conquered and defeated his foes,
had brought to naught the arrogant adversary,
thus fully completing An-shar's victory over his enemy,
and attaining the purpose of Nudimmud, the valiant Marduk
strengthened his hold on the gods that were captive;
and returned to Tiamat, whom he had defeated.
Bel-Marduk trampled down the body of Tiamat;
With his merciless weapon he smashed open her skull,
cut through the veins of her blood,
and let the north wind carry it far away.[1]
His fathers beheld this, they rejoiced and were glad;
presents and gifts they brought unto him.
And Bel was appeased, as he gazed on her dead body.[2]
Her corpse he divided, and wonderful feats he performed.
He cut her into two halves, like a flat (?) fish.
He took one half and made the heavenly dome,
pushed bars before it, and stationed watchmen.

[1] See preceding note. [2] Of Tiamat.

He gave them command not to let out its waters;[1]
then he passed through the heavens, inspected the regions (thereof),
and in front of apsu he established the home of Nudimmud.
Bel measured out the structure of apsu;
and corresponding to it he fashioned Esharra.[2]
The great structure Esharra, which he had built as heaven,
he made Anu, Bel, and Ea to inhabit as their own city.

Here ends the fourth tablet of the creation-account; immediately upon this follows, according to the custom of the Babylonian scribes, the first line of Tablet V:

"He established the stations for the great gods!"

Then follows a colophon, which states that there were one hundred and forty-six lines of the fourth tablet (of the series entitled):

"Long since, when above (the heaven) had not been named,"

and, that the tablet was written by Na'id-Marduk, in honour of Nebo, his lord, for the preservation of his life; he wrote and placed it in E-zida, the Temple of Nebo in Borsippa.

He[3] established the stations for the great gods.
The stars, like unto them,[4] and the constellations he fixed;
He ordained the year, and marked off its sections.
Twelve months he divided by three stars.
And when the days of the year he had fixed according to the stars,
he established the station of Nibir[5] to mark their bounds,
that none (of the days) might deviate, nor be found lacking.
The mansions of Bel and of Ea[6] he established with him.[7]

[1] Too freely? [2] The earth.
[3] Marduk. [4] The stations of the great gods.
[5] Jupiter, the planet of Marduk, close to the ecliptic.
[6] That is, the north pole and the south pole.
[7] The planet of Marduk.

He opened great gates on both sides (of the firmament),
made strong the bolts on the left and on the right.
In the midst (of heaven) he placed the zenith.
Nannar, the moon-god, he brought forth, and intrusted the night to him;
placed him there, as the luminary of night, to mark off the days;
month after month, he fashioned him as full moon (saying):
"At the beginning of the moon, when evening begins,
let thy horns shine, to mark off the heavens;
On the seventh day make half the disk,
stand perpendicular[1] on the Sabbath, with thy first half;
when at sunset thou risest on the horizon,
stand opposite her [on the fourteenth] in brightest splendour.
From the fifteenth] on, approach again the course of the sun.
On the twenty-first] stand perpendicular again to the sun.
From the twenty-second] on * * * to seek his course.
On the twenty-eighth to the sun] approach and hold judgment * * *"

[Only one half of a single line of Tablet VI is preserved.]

Of Tablet VII these lines are preserved:

God Zi * * * [they called him[2] in the second place]
who fixed * * *
their circuit * * *
Not be forgotten among men [this deed * * *]
God Zi-azag[3] they called him in the third place; he who causes purification.
"God of favourable wind, lord of acceptance (of prayers) and mercy;
who bringeth forth abundance and fulness, granteth rich blessings;
who increaseth everything that is small;

[1] As regards the earth or the sun—that is, the meridian—in which the moon stands at sunset when in her first or last quarter.
[2] Marduk. [3] God of pure life.

whose mild breath we feel amid storm and distress."
Thus may they speak, glorify, and worship him!
God Mir-azag[1] fourthly, let them thus praise him:
"Lord of pure incantation, restorer of dead to life,
showing mercy even unto the vanquished gods, removing
the yoke from the gods, his adversaries;
who in their place (?) created mankind;
the merciful who hath power to grant life.
May this word concerning him remain and be never forgotten
among mankind, whom he hath created!"
God Tu-azag,[2] fifthly, thus be his enchanting word in their mouths;
who destroys the wicked with his pure incantation.
God Sha-zu,[3] who knows the heart of the gods, who searches the innermost;
who does not allow the wicked to make his escape from him;
who summons the council of the gods and rejoices their heart;
who subdues the rebels * * *
and causes justice to prevail * * *
who resistance [overthrows] * * *
God Zi-si,[4] who sends forth the hurricane
and lets loose the storm and the winds.
God Shug-kur,[5] sixthly, who destroys the [enemies]
who brought to naught their compacts and agreements,
and destroys all the wicked * * *

[The rest of the obverse is broken off, as well as the beginning lines of the reverse, which commences with line four.]

* * *] star, [who riseth on the firmament of heaven].
Because he split asunder Tiamat without resting,
let his name be Nibiru, who defeated Kirbish-Tiamat.

[1] God of the shining crown.
[2] God of pure incantation.
[3] Knower of hearts.
[4] Destroyer of aggressors.
[5] Exterminator of all the wicked.

May he direct the course of the stars of heaven,
and pasture like sheep all the gods!
Let him take hold of Tiamat; let him oppress and shorten her life.
For future ages, forever and ever,
Be this in force and do not cease, remain in force forever.
Because he created heaven and fashioned the earth,
Father Bel called his name "Lord of the Universe."
The names of the Igigi,[1] he received all of them.
When Ea heard this, his heart rejoiced,
that to his son such lofty names had been given.
"Ea shall be his name, like mine.
May he deliver all my binding commands,
May he transmit all my commandments!"
Fifty names they gave him, according to the
great gods, fifty names, and enhanced his power.

The leader (king) shall hearken to this and proclaim it again,
the wise and the prudent likewise take it to heart.
Let father relate it to son, and speak constantly thereof.
May the shepherd and leader open his ears,
that he may rejoice in the lord of gods, in Marduk!
His land, then, may prosper; he himself remain sound;
his word be constant and firm, his order obeyed;
his command none shall change, not even a god.
But if he looks angry, not turning (in mercy) his neck,
no god can rival his anger or wrath,
the long-suffering * * *
[who] sin and evil before him [* * *].

[1] The host of heaven's gods.

A SECOND BABYLONIAN ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION

British Museum, No. 82-5-22, 1048

NOT yet had been built the sacred[1] house of the gods
in a sacred[1] place;
No reed was planted, no tree yet grown;
No brick was laid, no brick building reared;
No house had been built, no city yet founded;
No city had been built, no dwelling yet prepared.
Nipur was not yet built, E-kur[2] not yet erected;
Erech was not yet built, E-anna[3] not yet erected.
The ocean was not yet formed, Eridu[4] not yet built.
The frame of the sacred house of the gods had not yet been
erected.
The world was all one sea;
At length there was a movement in the sea,
Eridu was erected, E-sagila[5] was built;
E-sagila in the midst of the ocean,
where the god Lugal-dul-azaga[6] dwells.
Babylon was built, E-sagila was completed.
The gods, the Anunnaki,[7] he[8] created at the same time,
and made supreme the glorious city, the seat dear to their
hearts.
Marduk constructed an inclosure around the waters;
he formed dust and heaped it up at the side of the inclosure,
to make a dwelling for the gods, dear to their heart.
He created mankind.
The goddess Aruru,[9] together with him, created the seed
of mankind.

[1] Literally, pure. [2] Temple of Bel at Nippur.
[3] Temple of Ishtar at Erech.
[4] A city sacred to Ea at the mouth of the Persian Gulf; the text here refers to a sort of heavenly Eridu, corresponding to the earthly one.
[5] As a rule the name for the great Marduk temple in Babylon, but here very likely meaning a temple in Eridu (cf. line 13).
[6] = the god of the glorious abode = Ea.
[7] Some subordinate divine beings. [8] Marduk.
[9] Literally, the potter; also mentioned in Nimrod-epic, Tablet II, q. v.

He created the beasts of the field and the living creatures of
the dry land.
Tigris and Euphrates he formed, and set them in their
places,
and gave them good names.
soil and grass?], the marsh plant and the reed, and the forest
he planted;
the verdure of the field he produced;
the lands, the marsh plant, the reed also;
the wild cow and her young; the young wild ox;
the ewe and her young, the lamb of the fold;
meadows and forests also;
the goat and mountain-goat he also brought forth.
Then Marduk filled in a terrace by the shore of the sea,
[* * *] as he had not done before.
[* * *] he created.
[The plant he caused to sprout], and trees he raised.
[Bricks] he fashioned in their place.
[* * *] brick buildings he made;
[houses he erected], cities he built.
[Cities he erected], dwellings he reared.
[Nippur he built], E-kur, the temple, he erected.
[Erech he built], E-anna, the temple, he erected.

[The reverse of this tablet does not refer to the creation of the world.]

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE FIGHT BETWEEN MARDUK AND TIAMAT

Rm. 282.

THE text begins with a description of the terror that had befallen all mankind at the approach of Tiamat, who appears, however, as a male monster.

The cities sighed, the people [lamented],
Men uttered groans, [and wailed piteously].

But for their lament there was no [help],
For their grief there was no [comfort].
Who was that [great] dragon?
Tiamat was the [great] dragon!
Bel in heaven had shaped [his form].
Fifty kasbu is his length, one kasbu [his breadth?]
Half a rod (?) his mouth, one rod (?) [his * * *]

Then follows a description of the dragon, who wallows in the water and lashes his tail. Even the gods in heaven are afraid. They bow down and cry out asking who would slay the monster, and deliver the broad earth, and make himself king. God Suh was appealed to in vain. We do not know who eventually consented to do battle with the dragon, but it is probable that in this account Marduk was again the hero. The end of the tablet has fortunately been preserved. Here we find the god setting out to do battle, while one of the other gods cries out to him in encouragement:

"Stir up the cloud, the storm, [and the hurricane].
Set before thee the seal of thy life * * *
and kill the dragon!"
He stirred up the cloud, the storm, [and the hurricane],
set before him the seal of his life,
and he slew the dragon * * *
For three years and three months, day and [night]
The blood of the dragon flowed * * *

The best, and, we may safely say, the only reliable translations thus far published are those of Professors Peter Jensen (of Marburg), Heinrich Zimmern (of Breslau), Friedrich Delitzsch (of Berlin), and H. Winckler (of Berlin). To the English reader these four translations are not very accessible. Here are the titles: "Das babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos," von Friedrich Delitzsch [des XVII. Bandes der Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, No. II], Leipsic, 1896, 160 pp.—"Kosmologie

der Babylonier," von Peter Jensen, Strassburg, 1890 (pp. 261–364); and by the same author, "Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen," I. Hälfte (="Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," vi. Band, i, Teil), Berlin, 1900.—Heinrich Zimmern's excellent translation is published as an appendix (pp. 401–420) of Hermann Gunkel's "Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit," Göttingen, 1895.—"Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament," herausg. von H. Winckler, Leipsic, 1892, pp. 88–98.

Of English translations we have that of A. H. Sayce in the "Records of the Past," new series, vol. i, 1888, pp. 122–146.—L. W. King, "First Steps in Assyrian," London, 1898, pp. 122–160; and "Babylonian Religion and Mythology," London, 1899, pp. 53–120.—George A. Barton "Tiamat," in the "Journal of the American Oriental Society," vol. xv, pp. 3–37.—C. J. Ball, "Light from the East, or the Witness of the Monuments," London, 1899, pp. 1–21.—Theophilus G. Pinches published "A Babylonian Duplicate of Tablets I and II of the Creation Series" in the "Babylonian and Oriental Record," vol. iv, pp. 25–33 (January, 1890). — We also refer to Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria" ("Handbooks on the History of Religions"), Boston: Ginn & Co., 1898; Chapter XXI. "The Cosmogony of the Babylonians," pp. 407–453, and 724–727; as well as to the articles of Dr. Alfred Jeremias on "Marduk" in Roscher's "Ausführliches Lexikon der Griech. und Römischen Mythologie," vol. ii, cols. 2340–2372 (1895); and of Heinrich Zimmern and T. K. Cheyne on "Creation" in Cheyne and Black's "Encyclopædia Biblica," vol. i, cols. 938–954.

On the second Babylonian Account of the Creation, see especially Theophilus G. Pinches in "The Independent," New York (1890), and the "Academy" (London), November 29, 1890, pp. 508, 509; "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," 1891, pp. 393–408; "Records of the Past," new series, vol. vi, pp. 107–114, and "Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," vol. ii, pp.

190–198. It is a mixture of Creation- and Culture-myth. The Creation story is only given in allusions.

The so-called "Cuthean Account of the Creation," translated by Professor Sayce, in the "Records of the Past," new series, vol. i, pp. 147–153, is by no means a creation account, as has been shown by Professor Heinrich Zimmern in the "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," vol. xii, pp. 317–330. It relates to the mythological history of a king of early Babylonia, and is not a cosmogony. See also Jensen, "Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen," pp. 290–299.

SHORTER BABYLONIAN LEGENDS

THE LEGEND OF ZU, THE STORM-BIRD

I. THE THEFT OF THE TABLETS OF DESTINY

ALSO the commands of all the gods he determined.[1]
he * * *, he touched, he sent Zu.
As he * * * had completed, he approached Bel;
and the brightness of the pure waters was before him.
His eyes beheld the insignia (?) of Bel's supremacy,
the crown (royal cap) of his sovereignty, and the robe of his godhead.
Zu gazed also at the Tablets of Destiny, belonging to the god.
And as he saw the father of the gods, the god of Duranki,
eager desire for the supremacy took possession of his heart.
As Zu saw the father of the gods, the god of Duranki,
eager desire for the supremacy took possession of his heart.
"I will take the tablet of destiny of the gods, even I;
and I will direct all the decrees (oracles) of the gods;
I will [establish] a throne, and dispense commands,
I will rule over all the spirits of Heaven!"
And after his heart had planned the attack,
he awaited the dawn of the morning at the entrance to the palace (of the gods) which he had seen.
Now, when Bel had washed himself in the pure waters,
had ascended his throne, and placed upon his head the crown,
Zu seized with his hand the Tablets of Destiny;

[1] Several lines at the beginning broken off.

he took Bel's supremacy, the power of giving commands.
Then Zu fled away and [turned?] mountainward.
Grief was poured out, and cries resounded (in the palace of the gods).
Their father and decider, their [leader?] Bel,
poured out his rage through the palace;
and the goddesses turned [to him?] at his command (?).
Then Anu opened his mouth and said,
spoke unto the gods, his children:
"Who will vanquish Zu and thus
make great his name among the nations of all the lands?"

They called their leader, the son of Anu.
And Anu spoke unto him, gave him the command.
Adad, the leader, they called, the son of Anu;
And Anu spoke unto him, gave him this command:
"Thou mighty, terrible Adad; let not thy attack be repulsed!
Kill Zu with thy weapon!
Then thy name shall be great in the assembly of the great gods!
Thou shalt not have a rival among the gods thy brothers!
Shrines shall exist and be built [unto thee];
and in the four quarters [of the world] shall be established thy habitation!
Yea, even in E-kur shall enter thy habitation!
Thou shalt be brilliant above the gods, and mighty shall be thy name!"
But Adad answered to this command,
and spoke thus to his father Anu:
"My father, who can go to the mountain, that is inaccessible?
Who among the gods, thy children, is like unto Zu?
He has seized with his hand the Tablets of Destiny,
has taken Bel's supremacy, the power of giving command.
Zu has fled away and [has turned?] mountainward.
The word of his mouth has [now the same power?] as [thus far] that of the gods of Duranki.

He [that was mighty before?] is now considered as dirt.
But [to] his [(Zu's) command bow even] the gods."
Thereupon Anu told Adad not to go.

And they called her, the daughter of Anu.
And Anu spoke unto her, gave her the command.
Ishtar they called the daughter of Anu,
And Anu spoke unto her, gave her this command:
"Thou mighty, terrible Ishtar; let not thy attack be repulsed!
Kill Zu with thy weapon!
Then thy name shall be great in the assembly of the great gods!
Thou shalt not have a rival among the gods thy brothers!
Shrines shall exist and be built [unto thee];
and in the four quarters [of the world] shall be established thy habitation!
Yea, even in E-kur shall enter thy habitation!
Thou shalt be brilliant above the gods and mighty shall be thy name!"
But Ishtar answered to this command,
and spoke thus to her father Anu:
"My father, who can go to the mountain, that is inaccessible?
Who among the gods, thy children, is like unto Zu?
He has seized with his hand the Tablets of Destiny,
has taken Bel's supremacy, the power of giving command.
Zu has fled away and [has turned?] mountainward.
The word of his mouth has [now the same power?] as [thus far] that of the gods of Duranki.
He [that was mighty before?] is now considered as dirt.
But [to] his [(Zu's) command] bow even the gods."
Thereupon Anu told Ishtar not to go.

And they called Bara, the child of Ishtar.
And Anu spoke unto him, gave him this command:
"Thou mighty, terrible Bara; let not thy attack be repulsed!

Kill Zu with thy weapon!
Then thy name shall be great in the assembly of the great gods!
Thou shalt not have a rival among the gods, thy brothers!
Shrines shall exist and be built [unto thee];
and in the four quarters [of the world] shall be established thy habitation!
Yea, even in E-kur shall enter thy habitation!
Thou shalt be brilliant above the gods and mighty shall be thy name!"
But Bara answered to this command,
and spoke thus to his father Anu:
"My father, who can go to the mountain, that is inaccessible?
Who among the gods, thy children, is like unto Zu?
He has seized with his hand the Tablets of Destiny,
has taken Bel's supremacy, the power of giving commands.
Zu has fled away and [has turned?] mountainward.
The word of his mouth has [now the same power?] as [thus far] that of the gods of Duranki.
He [that was mighty before?] is now considered as dirt.
But [to] his [(Zu's) command] bow even the gods."
Thereupon Anu told Bara not to go.

2. THE CAPTURE OF ZU (?)

Lugal-banda [went away * * *] to a mountain, a distant mountain.
To the mountain of Sabu [* * *]
Mother does not live with him and [* * *] does not [* * *]
Father does not live with him and [* * *] does not [* * *] with him.
A nobleman, his acquaintance, [does not live with him].
His trusty friend [does not say] a word [to him].
In his own heart he [considered?] these words:
"That bird [I will treat] as he deserves!
Zu [I will treat as] he deserves!
His wife [I will treat as she deserves?].
The wife of Zu, the son of Zu

I will permit to sit down at meal."
En(n)a [and] Ninguen(n)a
he (then) brought back from the mountain.
The wise woman, the mother, who had done what was necessary;
Siris, the wise woman, the mother, who had done what was necessary.
Her mixing-vessel is of shining lapislazuli.
Her washtub is of pure silver and gold.
In mead stands jubilation,
In mead sits rejoicing.

Upon his head he placed the [* * *] of wood,
he put upon his head the [* * *] and the [* * *]
and rose up from the nest of Zu.

THE LEGEND OF DIBBARA, THE PLAGUE GOD

To the fifth he said, "Like a wind sweep [* * *]!"
The sixth he sent out, "Look above and below and spare none!"
The seventh a water * * * he laid upon him * * *.
After Anu had thus decreed the fate of all these seven,
He gave them to Dibbara, the mighty among the gods [saying]: "They shall go at thy side!
When the * * * of the people living in their places strikes thy * * *
and thy heart longs to make slaughter of them,
to kill the black-haired race and fell the beasts of the field,
these shall be thy ferocious weapons and they shall go at thy side!
When they are ferocious, their weapons (shall) speak,
and say unto Dibbara: 'Rise up and stand!
Shall [we become?] as a feeble old man, shut up in the city; shall we become like
a small child, a small babe, shut up in the house?

Shall we be like one who goes not to the field?
Shall we be held back like an asinnu-priest (?)
just as if we had never known a battle, had ever feared beheading?
Shall he that goes upon the field of manly (fight?) become like an asinnu-priest?' "

[Some twenty-five lines are broken off.]

Thou seizest * * *
The * * * of Bel * * * thou didst lay, and
" * * * my heart," he says.
* * * for the lurker (at) his gate (full of) the blood of man and girl,
thou didst establish his habitation.
Those children of Babylon were as birds and thou wert their trapper.
Thou didst catch them in the net, thou didst seize them, and destroy them,
Thou didst leave the city and didst go into the country.
Thou becamest a lion in appearance and enteredst into the palace.
And when the army saw thee, their weapons were made ready.
The heart of the governor, the avenger of Babylon, grew full of wrath,
and he sent out his warriors as if one sends out to gather spoil from the enemy.
Let evil overtake the leader of the army.
" In that city into which I will send thee, O man,
thou shalt fear no warrior, nor be afraid of any man;
but thou shalt kill at the same time the small and the great.
Let not even the suckling babe, the little one, escape.
Make spoil of the collected wealth of Babylon."
The army of the king assembled and entered the city.
The bow was drawn, the dagger unsheathed.
" Thou didst unsheath the weapons even
of the temple servants (?), the caretakers(?) of Anu and of Dagan.

But their blood thou didst make to flow over the square of
the city like the waters of a torrent.
Thou didst cut open their entrails and didst make the river
carry (them) away."
Marduk, the great lord, saw (this) and cried out, "Woe!"
His heart was seized [with fear?]
A curse, from which there is no escape, was put into his
mouth:
"The * * * of the river shall not drink its water."

"Thou didst desire * * *
* * * the city of time of yore, of the lord of the countries
[which?]
the storm-flood has not [destroyed?].
Against the will of Shamash (the Sun-god) thou didst de-
stroy its walls, nor pull down * * *
Bedouins and their wives have thrown firebrands (?)
into Erech, the seat of Anu and Ishtar,
the city of hussies, hierodules, and prostitutes,
to whom Ishtar paid for the man and gave him as their
own.
There gather in E-anna eunuchs and isinnu-priests (cina-
edi?),
whom Ishtar, in order to frighten the people, has turned
into hermaphrodites (?);
the carriers of dagger and knife, of steel and of flint;
who, to rejoice the heart of Ishtar, eat * * *
Thou didst appoint over them a governor, austere and un-
friendly of appearance,
who oppressed them greatly and changed their laws.
Ishtar grew angry and became enraged against Erech;
she sent (against it) the enemy and he swept it away as
water does grain.
* * * on account of E-ut-gal, which had been destroyed,
unceasing is the lam[ent * * *
The enemy whom she did send is not willing to re-
turn."
The great god answered (and said):

" Durilu has [been turned?] to ruins.
The people who lived therein thou didst break like reeds.
* * * * * * *
Also me didst thou not leave (alone?).
To the Bedouin [and his wife didst thou deliver Erech??].
And I, even I, should not deliver a judgment of righteousness for
my city Durilu, nor decide a decision of righteousness (?).
Should I not issue command (and order) and * * * (?)"
[Eighteen lines are broken off.]

"* * * I will make great and * * *
the son] I will kill and [his] father [I will slay?]
After that I will kill the father and [* * *]
who built the house and placed [into it] the (wedding) couch.
This I will do, and then I shall be satisfied * * *
The day when my fate takes me away (and) I lie down on [* * *]
I will kill him myself and ruin the house * * *
Then it shall remain a ruin and I shall [give it] to another."
" Powerful Dibbara, thou didst [kill] the just one;
and the wicked thou didst [kill].
Him, who committed sin against thee, thou [didst kill];
and him, who did not commit sin against thee, thou [didst kill].
Him, who did roast the meal-offering of the god, thou [didst kill];
the wicked and him who (unlawfully) keeps the slave belonging to the king, thou [didst kill]."

" The splendour of Shul-pa-e I will throw down,
and I will [cut] the tree at its root, so that
its fruit may not grow luxuriously.
I will destroy the foundations of the wall, so that its upper part will tumble down.
I will go to the dwelling of the king of the gods and [bind?] him."

And when the powerful Dibbara heard him say so,
the words, which he had spoken to Ishum, were, like fine oil, agreeable unto him;
and the powerful Dibbara spoke thus:
"Not shall the sea-country have mercy with the sea-country; nor Mesopotamia with Mesopotamia;
The Assyrian shall not spare the Assyrian, nor the Elamite the Elamite;
nor the Cossaean the Cossaean;
nor the Bedouin the Bedouin;
nor the dweller in the north him who dwelleth in the north;
nor the Lullubaean the Lullubaean;
nor one country the (other) country, nor one house the (other) house, nor one man his fellow-man;
nor brother his brother; but all shall slay one another.
And then shall rise up the Accadian and
shall throw down [them all] and strike dead their totality."
And the powerful Dibbara says unto Ishum, who walks before him, these words:
"Go, Ishum, and do exactly as thou didst say, according to the desire of thy heart."
Ishum turned his face toward the mountain Sharshar;
and the seven, the powerful, who have no rival,
swept on behind him.
And when the powerful arrived at the mountain Sharshar,
he lifted up his hand, seized the mountain,
made Mount Sharshar like the surrounding lowland,
and broke down the vines (that were growing) in the Hashurru-forest.

After Dibbara had become pacified * * *
All the gods bowed down to him and were af[raid of him?]
All the Igigi and Anunnaki[1] went [before him?].
Dibbara opened his mouth and said to [them?]:
"Take heed, ye all, of my words and hearken unto me!
I had devised evil on account of former sins.
My heart was angered, and I destroyed mankind,

[1] The spirits of heaven and of the deep.

like a hired shepherd who fetched the leader from out of the stable;
like one who, though he has not planted the orchard, persists in cutting it down;
like one who spares (??) neither the just nor the unjust, but kills [both].
From the mouth of the roaring lion they do not snatch the prey.

[Sixteen mutilated lines follow here.]

Also to the magnates of the land of Accad, thou shalt [show?] his power.
[His] one (or) seven offsprings thou shalt [* * *] like [* * *].
Thou shalt turn his cities into deserts and his mountain [into arable land].
Thou shalt bring his rich booty as spoil to Shu-an-na.
Thou shalt pacify the gods of the country, who had become angry.
Then the field shall prosper and the corn shall grow again.
Then the mountains [shall yield again] their riches, the sea its [abundance].
The field, that had been devastated [shall be green again?].
The road [* * *].
The house [* * *]."

Years without number the terrible splendour of [Dibbara], the great lord, [had endured].
For Dibbara was angry, and to overwhelm the lands, all of them,
he had set his mind.
But Ishum, his counsellor, pacified him and he abandoned [his wrath].
The word of Ishum, who walks before Dibbara, was pleasing to him,
but all the gods were afraid of him.
And thus spoke Dibbara, the powerful:
"Whosoever shall praise that song, may abundance be bestowed upon his shrine!

But whosoever throws it into oblivion, shall not smell the (sweet odour of) incense!
Whosoever shall magnify my name, shall rule the four quarters of the world!
Whosoever shall proclaim the terror of my valour,
shall never find a (worthy) opponent!
The singer who chants it (aloud) shall not die in the pestilence,
and unto the king and the noble his speech shall be well-pleasing!
The scribe, who learns it (by heart), shall escape from his enemy, and shall be honoured in [* * *]!
In the temple of the people, where continually my name is proclaimed,
I will open his ears (i. e., I will give him wisdom)!
Shall I, Dibbara, be angry with the house where this tablet is set,
and shall all the seven cause destruction? [No!].
The dagger of pestilence shall not approach it; immunity shall rest upon it!
May (the tablet containing this) song be always set up; may it endure forever!
May all the lands give ear and fear my valour!
May the people of all dwellings behold and magnify my name!"

ADAPA AND THE SOUTH-WIND

WISDOM, a prudent and [intelligent mind was given to Adapa?].
His command like the command of Anu stands forever.
Ea granted him also a wide ear (i. e., understanding), so that he could perceive the formations of the land.
He granted him wisdom, but he did not give him eternal life.
At that time and in those years the all-wise son of Eridu,

Ea, created him among mankind as (his) son;
the all-wise, whose command none dares to withstand;
the prudent, the very intelligent among the Anunnaki;
the bright, the pure of hands, the anointed, who takes heed of commands,—
With the bakers he does the work of the baker;
with the bakers of Eridu he does the work of the baker.
He prepares the bread and water for Eridu.
With his pure hands he prepares (?) the table,
and without him no table is cleared.
He steers the boat, and has charge of Eridu's fishing and hunting.
The [offspring?] of Ea watches day after day the bolt (of the gate)
of Eridu from the chamber, into which he enters.
At the fine quay, the new-moon-quay, he once entered his sailing boat,
and the wind blew and drove on his boat.
He steered his boat with the rudder
into the wide ocean.

The south-wind blew and ducked him under.
To the dwelling of the fishes * * * she made him sink.
"O south-wind, thou hast [made] me [swallow of?] thy foam, as much as thou [darest?];
But I will break thy wing." And as he had said it,
the wing of the south-wind was broken. For seven days
the south-wind did not blow over the land; and Anu
said to Ilabrat, his messenger:
"Why has the south-wind for seven days not blown over the land?"
His messenger Ilabrat answered him: "My lord,
Adapa, the son of Ea, has broken the wing of
the south-wind." When Anu heard this he cried out:
"Help!" stood up from his throne (and said): "Let the south-wind be brought here!"
[But?] Ea, who [had insulted] the heaven [through Adapa?],

made him (Adapa) * * * to wear, clothed him with a
mourner's garment, and said to him [as follows?]:
"Adapa, thou shalt go and stand before Anu, the king.
* * * when thou arrivest at
heaven, and approach the gate of Anu,
there (you will find) as guards of the gate of Anu, Tamuz
(and) Gishzida; they will see thee and ask: 'Man!
why dost thou look thus, Adapa? for whose sake
dost thou wear a mourner's garment?' 'Because two gods have
disappeared from our country.' 'And, pray, who are the two gods who have disappeared
from the country?' 'Tamuz and Gishzida.' They will look at each other
and will be surprised. They will say good words
to Anu (and) a 'friendly face of Anu they will
show unto thee.' When thou enterest the presence of Anu,
they will offer thee 'Meat (Bread) of Death.'
Eat not of it! They will offer thee 'Water of Death.'
Drink not of it! They will bring thee a garment.
Put it on! They will offer thee oil. Anoint thyself with it!
The command which I have thus given thee, neglect not! the words,
which I have spoken to thee, forget not!" The messenger
of Anu arrived (who had said): "Adapa has broken
the wing of the south-wind" (to whom Anu had said): "Let him be brought before me!"

He made him take the road to heaven, and Adapa went up to heaven.
And as he arrived at heaven and approached the gate of Anu,
there stood Tamuz and Gishzida at the gate.
As soon as they saw him they cried out: "Help!
Man! Why dost thou look thus, Adapa?
For whose sake dost thou wear a mourner's garment?"

"I wear a mourner's garment because two gods have disappeared from the country."
"And, pray, who are the two gods who have disappeared from the country?"
"Tamuz and Gishzida." They looked at each other and were surprised. And
when Adapa entered the presence of Anu
the king, Anu said, as he beheld him:
"Come, Adapa! Why hast thou broken the wing of
the south-wind?" Adapa answered thus unto Anu: "My lord,
I was catching fish for the house of my lord in the midst of the sea, when the south-wind blew, ducked me under, and made me sink to the dwelling of the fishes." "In the wrath of my heart,"
answered [Anu?], "I will have no mercy [upon thee?]." But Tamuz
and Gishzida spoke kind words to Anu,
whereupon his heart became pacified and was won over; (but he said):
"Why has Ea revealed to a sinful man
the mystery of heaven and earth?
Why has he made him great and has made a name (?) for him?
And now, what shall we do for him? Bring 'Meat of Life,'
that he may eat of it!" And when they offered him
"Meat of Life," he would not eat of it. And when they offered him
"Water of Life," he would not drink of it. But when they brought to him
a garment, he put it on; and when they offered him
oil, he anointed himself with it.
And Anu saw what he was doing, and he was astonished at him, (and said):
"Come, Adapa! Why didst thou not eat, why didst thou not drink, so that
therefore you will not live (forever) * * *?" "Ea, my lord, commanded

me thus (saying), 'Eat not and drink not!'"
"Take him then, and lead him back to his land!"
* * * saw him,

He said to him, but he answered (?):
"Remain seated," he said unto him; but he rose up and [* * *]
Anu was greatly astonished at the doings of Ea and said:
"Ye, gods of heaven and earth, as many as there are, who thus * * *
and who will increase his command so that it is like the command of Anu."
Adapa looked up from the horizon to the zenith,
and beheld Anu's terrible appearance.

[The rest of this column is badly mutilated and can not well be rendered.]

THE STORY OF ETANA

FROM the young of the eagle [the eagle went forth?].
His heart prompted the eagle [and * * *]
He considered and his heart prompted him
to eat the young of his companion [the serpent?].
The eagle opened his mouth, and spoke to his young:
"I will eat the young of the serpent, the serpent, whose heart is [without cares?].
I will ascend and spy from the height of the heaven,
I will swoop down upon the top of the tree and I will eat (the serpent's?) brood."
One of the young birds, endowed with much wisdom, said to his father, the eagle:
"Do not eat, O my father! Shall the net of Shamash (the Sun-god) catch thee?
Shall the snare and the ban of Shamash fall upon thee and catch thee?

Whoso transgresses the law of Shamash, from him Shamash
[will exact revenge!]."
But he did not hearken to them, and gave no heed to the
word of his young one.
He swooped down and ate the young of the serpent.
This [was done?] in the middle of the day, but the ser-
pent [was away?].
* * * carrying his burden [he came to his nest in the
evening].
[But found] its nest [empty and its young destroyed?].

When the serpent had come, he said unto Shamash:
"I will tell thee [what has happened to me?]
To the eagle * * *
Then he spied * * * my nest,
my nest he spied, that was in the tree.
Now my young are killed, for I was not there,
when he swooped down and ate them up.
Let [him now pay for?] the evil which he has done,
O Shamash!
For, Shamash, thy net is the broad earth
and thy snare the distant heaven.
Who has ever escaped from thy net?
Even Zu, the worker of evil, who carries high his evil head,
[did not escape]!"
When he had thus listened to the prayer of the serpent,
Shamash opened his mouth, and said to the serpent:
"Go now, and take the road to the mountain,
I will get (?) for thee a [dead] wild ox.
Open its bowels, and crawl into its belly,
and take up thy dwelling in its belly.
All kinds of birds of heaven shall swoop down
and [will eat of the flesh?];
and the eagle shall come with them;
and not knowing [thy intention and plot],
he will seek to get a piece of the flesh, moving swiftly to
and fro,
and will make for the hidden parts.

And when he has penetrated into the inner parts, seize him by his wing,
tear off his wing, his feather, his pinion;
tear him to pieces and cast him into a pit,
that he may die a death from hunger and thirst."
At the word of Shamash, the hero, the serpent departed and went into the mountain.
And the serpent found the [dead] wild ox,
opened its bowels and penetrated into its belly,
and took up his dwelling in its belly.
All kinds of birds of heaven swooped down and ate of the flesh.
"But is the eagle to suspect the evil intent and
will he not eat of the meat with the young birds?"
The eagle opened his mouth and said to his young:
"Come, let us swoop down and eat of the flesh of this wild ox!"
And one of the young birds, endowed with much wisdom, said to his father, the eagle:
"Do not swoop down, my father! Suppose there lurks the serpent in [the flesh of] this wild ox!"
But the eagle [opened his mouth] and said these words:
"* * * * * * * * * *"
He did not hearken to them, and gave no heed to the word of his young one.
He swooped down and stood upon the wild ox.
The eagle examined the carcass, looking carefully before and behind him.
He again examined the carcass, looking carefully before and behind him.
Then, moving swiftly, he made for what was hidden in its interior.
And when he had penetrated into its interior, the serpent seized him by his wing.
* * * * * * *
The eagle opened his mouth, and spoke to the serpent:
"Have mercy upon me and I will present thee with a gift, such as a bridegroom gives."

The serpent opened his mouth, and spoke to the eagle:
" If I release thee, Shamash will be against us both, as [formerly against thee?].
His wrath against thee will then be turned upon me,
which now, as a punishment, I execute on thee."
So he tore off his wing, his feather, his pinion;
he tore him to pieces and cast him into a pit,
that he should die a death from hunger and thirst.

[But the eagle did not die; for Etana, whose wife could not give birth to a son, said thus]:

" The seer-priests have completed my offerings,
They have finished my sacrifices, the joy of the heart of the gods.
My lord, let now proceed from thy mouth the revelation,
and give [me?] the 'Plant of Birth'!
Shew me the 'Plant of Birth'!
Tear out my offspring [from his mother's womb?] and grant me a son."
And Shamash opened his mouth and said to Etana:
" Go, and take the road across the mountain."

[Here he was to find the eagle, who would give him the desired Plant of Birth.]

And the eagle opened his mouth and spoke to Shamash, his lord:
" * * * * * * * * * *
The young of a bird [he shall bring unto me?]
* * * * * * * * * *
Whatsoever he will say unto me, I will hear;
and whatsoever I shall say unto him, may he do!"
And Etana did as he was told by Shamash, the hero.
He took the young of a bird and went to the eagle.
The eagle opened his mouth and spoke to Etana:
" What is the desire that has brought thee hither?"
And Etana opened his mouth (and) said to the eagle:
" My friend, give me the 'Plant of Birth';
shew me the 'Plant of Birth'!

Tear out my offspring [from his mother's womb?] and grant me a son.
And in order to get the 'Plant of Birth,'
so that he, who is now [inclosed in the womb?] may come forth,
Shamash, my lord, said unto me:
'Go, and take the road across the mountain,
[there thou shalt get?] the "Plant of Birth."'"

On one occasion the eagle carried Etana up to heaven. The hero clung to the eagle's wings and they rose together until they could see the gates of heaven. There:

"At the entrance to the gate of Anu, Bel, and Ea we fell down worshipping.
At the entrance to the gate of Sin, Shamash, Adad, and [Ishtar?] we fell down worshipping.
[Four lines wanting.]
A throne was there erected and [* * *]
Beneath the throne lions were lying down.
I drew nigh, and the lions jumped up.
I became frightened and trembled * * *"
But the eagle said to Etana:
"My friend, let thy countenance brighten up.
Come, let me carry thee up to the heaven of Anu.
Against my breast lay [thy back?],
upon the wing-feathers (?) of my pinions lay [thy hands],
upon my side lay [thy side?]!"
Against his breast he laid [his back?].
Upon the wing-feathers (?) of his pinions he laid his hands.
Upon his side he laid his side.
He made (fast) his hold and great was the weight. After the eagle had carried
Etana for two hours, he said to him:
"Behold, my friend, the land, how it is!
Look at the sea at the sides of E-kur!
The land looks [as if it were] only a mountain; the sea has become
like a [small pool of] water."

After the eagle had carried Etana for four hours,
he said to him:
" Behold, my friend, the land, how it is! the land * * *"
After the eagle had carried Etana for six hours, he said to him:
" Behold, my friend, the land, how it is!
The sea has become like the [water-ditch] of a gardener."
After going thus up to the heaven of Anu,
the eagle and Etana came through the gate of
Anu, Bel, and Ea, and there fell down worshipping
* * * the eagle and Etana * * *

[Another quite mutilated column contains a repetition of the flight of Etana and the eagle to the heaven of Anu.]

After they had travelled for six hours, Etana said to the eagle:

" My friend, I will not rise up to heaven; hold on, that I [may return to earth?]."

Etana " falls down one double hour," and the eagle flies down with him; a second and a third double hour they go downward together; both fall down together upon the ground.

The eagle bursts asunder; of Etana [nothing is left?].

THE GILGAMESH NARRATIVE

USUALLY CALLED

THE BABYLONIAN NIMROD EPIC

INTRODUCTORY.—The chief fragments of the Nimrod epic were discovered in 1854 by Hormuzd Rassam in the ruins of Nineveh. The tablets, twelve in number, belonged originally to the famous library of King Ashurbanipal (668–626 B. C.), as the colophons to the several tablets clearly state. The text has not yet been completely restored. The contents of these tablets were first brought to light and translated by the late George Smith († 1876), of the British Museum, in his "Chaldean Account of Genesis" (1872).[1] The standard edition of the text, as far as it is accessible at present, is that of Professor Paul Haupt, "Das Babylonische Nimrodepos."[2] Additions to Part I were published by the same author in an article on "Ergebnisse einer erneuten Collation der Izdubar -Legenden."[3]

The only good recent translations of the whole epic are by Dr. Alfred Jeremias, "Izdubar-Nimrod, Eine altbabylonische Heldensage. Nach den Keilschriftfragmenten dargestellt,"[4] and by Professor Jensen, pp. 116–273 of his "Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen."

[1] Second edition, in 1880, by A. H. Sayce; translated into German by Friedrich Delitzsch (1876).

[2] Heft i, 1884; Heft ii, 1890; vol. iii of the Assyriological Library, edited by Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt.

[3] Published in vol. i of the "Contributions to Assyriology," pp. 94–152.

[4] Teubner, Leipsic, 1891, pp. viii–73, and four autograph plates of text.

For text editions and translations of the famous account of the deluge, being the eleventh tablet of the epic, see the note prefixed to the translation of this tablet, below.

The true reading: Gilgamesh, the Gilgamos of Ælian, in place of the conventional Iz-du-bar, was found by Theophilus G. Pinches in 1894. On the Nimrod epic see also Morris Jastrow, "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria," pp. 467–517, 727–730; C. J. Ball, "Light from the East, or the Witness of the Monuments," pp. 44 foll.; and L. W. King, "Babylonian Religion and Mythology" (London, 1899), chap. v, pp. 146–177.

TABLET I

Of this tablet only a few fragments are preserved. The correct beginning of the first tablet has been determined by Professor Haupt.[1] It reads thus:

He who has seen the history of Gilgamesh,
[He who] knows all [that has happened to him]
* * * together * * *
[He who] has seen all kinds of wisdom,
[and] knows the mysteries and has seen what is hidden,
he bringeth news dating farther back [than the deluge?];
He has travelled far-distant roads, and become weary * * *
[and now he has written] on a memorial tablet all the other things
* * * the wall of Uruk-supuru [2]

[Lines ten and eleven are wanting.]

He spoke a charm which does not leave [him]
* * * the god who from distant days * * *

So far page 1 of Haupt's text; to the same tablet, as Haupt and Jeremias have pointed out, belongs page 51,[3] narrating a siege of the city of Erech.

* * * his cattle forsook him.
* * * he went down to the river,

[1] See "Contributions to Assyriology," i, p. 102.
[2] Erech, the strong-walled.
[3] Page references in this translation refer to Professor Haupt's edition.

pushed into the river his boat and covered (it).
* * * full of sorrows he wept bitterly.
He returned (?) to the city of Gan-gan-na, which the enemy
had destroyed completely.
The she-asses have trampled down their foals;
The cows in madness turn upon their calves.
And as the cattle were frightened, so were the people.
Like the doves, the maidens sigh and mourn.
The gods of Erech, the strong-walled,
Assume the shape of flies and buzz about the streets.
The protecting deities of Erech, the strong-walled,
take on the shape of mice and hurry into their holes.
Three years the enemy besieged the city of Erech;
the city's gates were barred, the bolts were shot.
And even Ishtar, the goddess, could not make head against
the enemy.
But Bel opened his mouth, said
to Ishtar, the queen, and spoke to her thus:

[The rest of the text is broken off; traces still allow to read (21) "Babylon the city of joy" (?). The death of the king must have created consternation in the city, described above, so graphically. Then Gilgamesh comes to the city as her saviour, and later on appears as her king.]

TABLET II

With the exception of Column I the text of this tablet is preserved almost completely. Gilgamesh is introduced as the ruler of Erech, but his rule soon became unpopular, since he compelled all the young men of the city to enter his service, and carried off the maidens to his court. The parents complained, saying:

Not does Gilgamesh leave the son to his father,
nor the maiden to the warrior, nor the wife to her husband.
Their wailing and lament [is heard everywhere?].
"Ye gods of heaven, and thou Bel of Erech,
who didst bring my son into existence, [save us!?],
He (Gilgamesh) has not a rival [in all the land?]

Thy people now come [to thee for help?].
Gilgamesh leaves not to the father his child." Day and night [they poured out their plaint]:
" He the ruler of Erech the strong-walled.
He their ruler and
the strong, the lofty, the cunning [* * *]
Gilgamesh does not leave a daughter to [her mother?]
nor the maiden to the warrior, nor the wife to her husband."
[The gods of heaven] heard their cry.
They also cried aloud to Aruru,[1] the goddess, saying: "Aruru, who hast created him,
Create now a rival (?) to him, for the time when his heart shall be [* * *],
Let them fight together and Erech [shall be the spectator?]!"
Upon hearing this Aruru created in her heart a man after the likeness of Anu.[2]
Aruru washed her hands, took a bit of clay, and cast it on the ground.
Thus she created Eabani, the hero, a lofty offspring, the possession (?) of Ninib.
His whole body was covered with hair; he had long hair on his head like a woman;
His flowing hair was luxuriant like that of the corn-god.
Contrary to?] the custom of the people and of the land, he was clothed with garments, as god Ner;[3]
He ate herbs with the gazelles.
He quenched his thirst with the beasts.
He sported about with the creatures of the water.[4]
Sa-a-a-du,[5] the hunter of men,
Lay in wait for him at the entrance to the well.

[1] See for this goddess the second Babylonian creation account, p. 299, line 21. In company with Marduk she created mankind.

[2] A divine man, a demigod.

[3] Called the son of the sun god, the shepherd of the universe.

[4] "This Babylonian 'wild man of the woods' is evidently a picture of man living in a savage state" (Jastrow).

[5] The word itself means "hunter"; he is sent by Gilgamesh into the mountains in order to capture Eabani.

The first, the second, and the third day he lay in wait for him at the entrance to the well.
But when he saw him the hunter's face looked troubled,
[beholding Eabani and?] his cattle, and he returned to his home.
* * * he was sad, and moaned, and wailed;
his heart grew heavy], his face became clouded,
and sadness [entered] into his mind.
His face became like unto [the distant * * * (?)]

The hunter, obeying the command of Gilgamesh, intended to advance against Eabani; but at the sight of him he drew back in fear, and was unable to catch him.

The hunter opened his mouth and said unto [Ea, or Shamash, his father?]:
"My father, one hero, going there [is not strong enough?].
In heaven is * * *
Like that of a Kisir Anu [1] is his strength;
he roams over [all] the mountains;
with the beasts of the field he regularly [feeds].
His feet are regularly set toward the entrance of the well.
I am afraid of him, I do not dare to go near him.
He has filled up the pit that I digged,[2]
and has destroyed the hunter's nets which I [had spread over it?].
From my hands he has made to escape the cattle and the beasts of the field,
and does not allow me to hunt them."
His father opened his mouth and] spoke thus to the hunter:
["Go and wend thy way] to Erech, the city of Gilgamesh.

The fragments of lines following show that the hunter was to find there a tempter called Uchat,[3] in order to entice,

[1] Perhaps a host or a man of Anu.
[2] In order to catch him, like a wild animal.
[3] Usually translated, wailing woman; by others, the "ensnaring," the siren. Buret, in his famous book, "Syphilis in Ancient Prehistoric

with her assistance, the sensuous Eabani, and bring him to Erech. Obeying the advice of his father, the hunter goes to Erech [the city of Gilgamesh].

Into the presence] of Gilgamesh [stepped the hunter, and said:]

And now follows a repetition of the same report of the hunter concerning his failure to capture Eabani, the address "my father," of course, being omitted. Thereupon:

Gilgamesh spoke to the hunter and said:
"Go, hunter mine, and take the ensnarer Uchat with thee.
And when the beasts come down to the well,
then let her tear off her dress and disclose her nakedness.
Eabani will see her, and he shall approach unto her,
and the cattle, which gather around him on the field, shall forsake him."
The hunter departed, and took with him the woman Uchat.
Together they proceeded straightway, and
On the third day they reached the appointed field.
There the hunter and the ensnarer rested at their seat.
One day, two days, they lurked at the entrance to the well,
where the cattle were accustomed to slake their thirst,
where the creatures of the waters were sporting.
Then [came] Eabani, whose home was the mountains,
who with gazelles ate herbs,
and with the cattle slaked his thirst,
and with the creatures of the waters rejoiced his heart.
And Uchat, the enticer of men, beheld him * * *
"Behold, there he is"[1] (the hunter exclaimed); "now disclose thy womb,
uncover thy nakedness, and let him enjoy thy favours.
Be not ashamed, but yield to his sensuous lust.

Times," i, p. 82, says: "The name of the hierodule uchat points very plainly to the uchet disease, the syphilis of the ancient Egyptians." The Uchat was one of the sacred women who were in the service of Ishtar and were attached to the ancient temple of that goddess in the city of Erech.

[1] Eabani.

He shall see thee and shall approach unto thee;
Remove thy garment, and he shall lie in thine arms;
satisfy his desire after the manner of women;
then his cattle, raised with him on the field, shall forsake him
while he firmly presses his breast upon thine."
And Uchat disclosed her womb, uncovered her nakedness, and let him enjoy her favours.
She was not ashamed, but yielded to his sensuous lust.
She removed her garment, he lay in her arms,
and she satisfied his desire after the manner of women.
He pressed his breast firmly upon hers.
For six days and seven nights Eabani enjoyed the love of Uchat.
And when he had sated himself with her charms,
he turned his countenance toward his cattle.
The gazelles, resting, beheld Eabani; they and
the cattle of the field turned away from him.
This startled Eabani and his body grew faint;
his knees became stiff, as his cattle departed,
and he became less agile than ever before.
And as he hearkened, he made a resolve.
He turned again, in love enthralled, to the feet of the harlot,
and gazed up into the face of the ensnarer.
And while the ensnarer spoke, his ears listened attentively;
and the siren spoke to Eabani and said:
"Lofty thou art, Eabani, thou shalt be like a god;[1]
Why, then, doest thou lie down with the beasts of the field?
Come, I will take thee to strong-walled Erech;
to the glorious house, the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar,
the palace of Gilgamesh, (the hero) who is perfect in strength,
surpassing, like a mountain bull, men in power."
While she spoke thus to him, he hearkened unto her
wise speech, and his heart yearned for a friend.

[1] Professor Jastrow calls attention to the striking parallel to the biblical words, "ye will be like Elohim" (Gen. iii, 5), addressed by the serpent to Adam and Eve.

And Eabani spoke unto her, the ensnarer:
"Come then, Uchat, take me, and lead me
to the glorious dwelling, the sacred seat of Anu and Ishtar,
to the palace[1] of Gilgamesh, (the hero) who is perfect in strength,
surpassing, like as a mountain bull, men in power."

Here the text becomes very broken, only the latter half of a number of lines being preserved. As to the contents, this much may be said: Eabani intends to test the strength of the famous hero (Gilgamesh)—whose friendship he desires—by means of a "lion, born in the desert and powerful in strength." New fragments found and skilfully placed together by Professor Haupt, have enabled Dr. Jeremias to partially restore the following narrative:

The Uchat leads Eabani to Erech. As they arrived, the inhabitants of Erech, clothed "in festive garments," were celebrating a festival—perhaps the Tammuz festival. The end of Col. V seems to be a warning to Eabani, received in a dream:

"Gilgamesh will behold [thee].
I behold [* * *] his face,
it glows with heroic courage.
Strength he possesses, [magnificent?] is his whole body.
His power is stronger than thine.
He rests not [nor tires?], neither by day nor by night.
O Eabani, change thy [intention?].
Shamash loves Gilgamesh;
Anu, Bel, and Ea are whispering (wisdom) into his ear.
Ere thou camest down from the mountain
Gilgamesh beheld thee in a dream in Erech."

Here the address seems to end, and the narrative returns to its hero, Gilgamesh, who also had a dream, and was troubled because he could not interpret it.

Gilgamesh came, to understand the dream, and
said to his mother:

[1] That is, Erech.

"My mother, I dreamed a dream in my nightly vision;
The stars of heaven, like Anu's host, fell upon me * * *"

The fragments of Col. VI contain another dream, the subject of which is likewise Eabani and his adventures with the ensnarer Uchat. The fragments indicate that the mother advised her son to make friendship with Eabani, the giant.

TABLET III

A great and important factor in the subsequent adventures of Gilgamesh is the fact that Eabani becomes the friend and companion of the hero. Two fragments, published on pages 14 and 15 of Professor Haupt's edition, are supposed by Dr. Jeremias to have belonged to Cols. III and IV of this tablet. The former seems to be an address to a woman (the Uchat?):

* * * the gods let thee enter
* * * forsaken was
* * * the consort * * *
* * * and he saw it alone,
and he relieved his heart and spoke to his friend.
* * * a dream I dreamed in my night's sleep,
[The stars?] of heaven fell upon the earth.
[Frightened?] I stood there.
* * * his face became disturbed
* * * like lion's claws were his nails
* * * the dream?] strengthened me * * *

The second fragment was a dialogue between Shamash, the sun god, and Eabani, in consequence of which Eabani's "angry heart became quieted." It seems that Shamash induced Eabani, who is anxious to return to his mountain home, to remain. The Uchat again plays a prominent rôle, and we hear of the promise to Eabani of royal honours, the friendship and brotherly love of Gilgamesh. Says Shamash:

"Come, and on a fine, grand couch,
on a fine couch he[1] will let thee recline.
He will place thee upon a couch, a seat to the left.[2]
The kings of the earth shall kiss thy feet.
The people of Erech shall whine before thee * * *
and the nations shall work for thee.
* * * after thee shall be carried, whatever there be
* * * in the midst thereof he shall encamp."
Eabani listened to the word of Shamash, the warrior hero,
* * * his angry heart became quieted.

A continuation of this tablet Dr. Jeremais believes to have found on page 87 of Haupt's edition. Here Gilgamesh promises to Eabani precisely the same that Shamash promises on page 15 (see above). The gods have a purpose in view in bringing about friendship between Eabani and Gilgamesh. The fragments of Tablets IV and V give us the key to it. They relate the battle of the city of Erech against the Elamitic despot Humbaba, ending in the death of the latter and the enthronement of Gilgamesh as King of Erech. The gods, being deeply interested in the destruction of Humbaba and the end of the rule of the hostile god Humba,[3] take part in the fight. It is evident that this poetic narrative is simply the mythical representation of a great national upheaval, by means of which an Elamitic dynasty was overthrown and a Babylonian rule established.

TABLET IV

is represented by only a few small fragments, which, however, enable us to see that the tablet describes the preparation for the capture of the fortress of the Elamitic king, Humbaba. These two tablets (IV and V) then contain the historic kernel of the narrative of the epic. According to Dr. Jeremias, Tablet IV contained something like this:

Col. I. Eabani stands before the king of the gods (Marduk?), speaking probably of Humbaba, whom he and Gil-

[1] Gilgamesh. [2] No doubt a seat of honour. [3] An Elamite god.

gamesh intended to kill, and whose corpse vultures (?) may devour; they asked the god to be favourable to their fight.

We did look after thee, O king [of the gods?].
Now look thou also after us.

Gilgamesh then advises Eabani to go

To the lofty palace of the great queen, who knoweth all.

Thereupon both go to the great prophetess, who is described in Col. II, her breast ornaments and her crown being especially mentioned. After this the narrative continues as follows:

[Before] Shamash he sacrificed a smoke-offering,
poured out a drink-offering;
lifted up before Shamash his hand,[1] (praying):
"Why hast thou disquieted the heart of Gilgamesh?
Now thou hast taught him, and
a far road he travels unto Humbaba.
An unknown fight he is about to enter,
To an unknown war he is about to set forth.
From the day that he goeth, until he returneth again,
until he comes to the (splendid) cedar wood,
until he shall have killed Humbaba the despot,
all the many evils which shall befall him, shall ruin him.
On the day when thou * * *

The end of Col. II narrates the preparation for the great fight.

The forces of the country assembled together;
the army completed its preparations;
and the heroes put on their armour.

Then the two friends set out together. Col. V opens with these words:

In order that the cedar wood remain intact, Bel[2] has made it a terror for the people.

[1] That is, in prayer, said of Eabani.

[2] There is meant here either the Elamitic god Humba or the old Babylonian god Bel, who, as we see in Tablet XI, delighted in terrorizing people.

The roaring of Humbaba was like that of a storm cyclone;
his mouth was (full of) blasphemy, his breath (killing?)
like hot wind;
* * * hears a roaring in the forest;
whosoever descends into his park.
In order that the cedar forest remain intact, Bel has
made it a terror for the people.
Whosoever enters it, pestilence (?) will overtake him.
And Gilgamesh spoke unto Eabani, and said:

Plates 57 and 58 Dr. Jeremias assigns to the last column of Tablet IV. Gilgamesh recounts to Eabani

a favourable dream,
a splendid dream,

in which he saw the corpse of Humbaba. Then they set out on their way in the morning;

every twenty double leagues they took a meal;
every thirty double leagues they took a rest.
Before Shamash they dug a hole.
Then Gilgamesh went up to * * *
and poured his sacrificial meal into the hole (saying):
" Mountain, bring a dream unto Eabani!
Let him see dream-visions, O Shamash."

Then they go to sleep. About midnight Gilgamesh awakes, arises, and speaks to his friend Eabani:

" My friend, hast thou called me? "

Then he tells him of a

third dream that he had seen.
The dream that I dreamed was very terrible (?);
heaven thundered, earth quaked;
day grew dark, darkness came up;
lightning set in, fire flared up
sated [with destruction] and filled with death.
Then suddenly the light darkened, the fire was quenched

* * * fell down, turned into smoke * * *"
Eabani heard this dream and said to him:

[The rest of this tablet is broken away.]

TABLET V

Col. I. The heroes are in the sacred forest, surrounding the stronghold of Humbaba. They had apparently forced open its gate:

There they stood, lofty arose the forest, and
(astonished) they gazed at the height of the cedars
and at the entrance of the cedar wood,
where Humbaba was wont to walk with lofty steps.
Ways were laid out and paths well kept.
They saw the cedar hill, the dwelling of gods, the sanctuary of Ernini.
In front of the hill (mountain) a cedar stood of great splendour,
fine and good was its shade, filling with gladness (the heart?).

The remainder of the column is broken off, but it probably gave a further description of the palace and its surroundings.

Page 27 contains fragments of an address by Gilgamesh to Eabani in which again is mentioned

The corpse to be devoured by the vultures.

In Cols. II and III (pp. 25 and 28, and perhaps also pp. 74 and 86) the heroes recount their former glorious deeds, a favourable indication for the success of their imminent battle with Humbaba. Of the other columns only a fragment of the closing lines of Col. V is preserved (p. 26), where, in the last line, the "head of Humbaba" is mentioned, a fact which proves that the preceding lines contained an account of the fight and slaying of Humbaba. Immediately upon this line follow, according to the custom of Babylonian scribes, two lines, one giving the first

line of the next (VI) tablet, and the other stating that it was the V tablet of the whole series, the words of the first line of Tablet I being used as "catchword" for the whole epic. Both served as a guide for the reader of the whole series.

TABLET VI

narrates the celebration of the victory of Gilgamesh, and his repulse of Ishtar's love advances (Haupt, pp. 42–50).

He cleansed his weapons, he polished his arms.
He took off the armour that was upon him. He put away his soiled garments and put on clean raiment;
clothed himself with his ornaments, put on his diadem (?).
Gilgamesh placed upon his head the crown and put on his diadem (?).
To win the favour and love of Gilgamesh, Ishtar, the lofty goddess desired[1] (and said unto him):
"Come, Gilgamesh, be thou my spouse,
Give, O give unto me thy manly strength.
Be thou my husband, let me be thy wife,
and I will set thee in a chariot (embossed) with precious stones and gold,
with wheels made of gold, and shafts of sapphires (?).
Large kudanu-lions thou shalt harness to it.
Under sweet-smelling cedars thou shalt enter into our house.
And] when thou enterest into our house
Thou shalt sit upon?] a lofty throne, and people shall kiss thy feet;
kings and lords and rulers shall bow down before thee.
Whatever mountain and country produces, they shall bring to thee as tribute.
* * *] thy sheep shall bear twin-ewes.
* * *] mules they shall bring as tribute.
Thy [majesty?] shall sit upon a chariot that is splendid, drawn?] by a span that has no equal."

[1] Literally, she lifted up her eyes.

But Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke unto her;
said unto the lofty goddess Ishtar:

The beginning lines of his speech are almost lost, only a few fragments being preserved. Gilgamesh refused the proffered love of Ishtar, reminding her that all her former lovers have come to grief through her, and said that he was not willing to share their fate.

"Where is thy husband Tammuz, who was to be forever?
What, indeed, has become of the allallu-bird * * *?
Well, I will tell thee plainly the dire result of thy coquetries.
To Tammuz, the husband of thy youth,
thou didst cause weeping and didst bring grief upon him every year.
The allallu-bird, so bright of colours, thou didst love;
But its wing thou didst break and crush,
so that now it sits in the woods crying: 'O my wing!'
Thou didst also love a lion, powerful in his strength,
seven and seven times didst thou dig a snaring pit for him.
Thou didst also love a horse, pre-eminent in battle,
but with bridle (?), spur, and whip thou didst force it on,
didst force it to run seven double-leagues at a stretch.
And when it was tired and wanted to drink, thou still didst force it on,
thereby causing weeping and grief to its mother Si-li-li.
Thou didst also love a shepherd of the flock * * *
who continually poured out incense before thee,
and, for thy pleasure, slaughtered lambs day by day.
Thou didst smite him, and turn him into a tiger,
so that his own sheep-boys drove him away,
and his own dogs tore him to pieces.
Thou didst also love a farmer, a gardener of thy father,
who continually brought unto thee dainties,
and daily adorned thy table for thee.
Thine eye thou didst cast on him and turn his mind, saying:
'Oh, my farmer boy, let us enjoy thy manly strength.

Let thy hand [1] come forth and take away my virginity' (?).
But the farmer spoke unto thee and said:
'Me!—what is this that thou askest of me?
Mother, thou hast not baked, and I will not eat;
The food that I shall eat is bad and bitter,
and it is covered with cold and numbness.' [2]
And when thou didst hear such words,
thou didst smite him and change him into a cripple(?) [3]
And didst thus compel him to lie on a couch,
so that he could no more rise up from his bed.
And now thou wouldst also love me; but like unto them I would fare."
When Ishtar heard such words
she became enraged, and went up into heaven,
and came unto Anu [her father], and
To Antum (her mother) she went, and thus spoke (unto them):
"My father, Gilgamesh has insulted me;
Gilgamesh has upbraided me with my evil deeds,
my deeds of evil and of violence."
And Anu opened his mouth and spoke—
said unto her, the mighty goddess Ishtar:
"Thou shalt not remain so disconsolate,
even though Gilgamesh has upbraided thee with thy evil deeds,
thy deeds of evil and of violence."
And Ishtar opened her mouth and said,
she spoke unto Anu, her father:
"My father, create [for me] a heaven-bull."

The following seventy lines have come down in a very mutilated condition; and the meaning can only be surmised. As Dr. Jeremias has ingeniously pointed out, the

[1] Probably a euphemism for phallus.

[2] These three lines must have an ithyphallic meaning, rejecting Ishtar's advances to him, as line 69 implies. The word "mother" used by the farmer (?) in addressing the goddess has well been compared to the use of the same word in Russia.

[3] Others, a servant or a dwarf.

lines remind us of the threat of Gilgamesh, spoken before the ocean palace (Tablet X, Col. I), and especially of the analogous conditions found in the account of the "Descent of Ishtar into the Netherworld," where the courageous goddess in her wrath forces entrance to the Netherworld. As she threatened there, so now here, in heaven, she would smash everything, if her will and wish is not granted. Anu, her father, though hesitating, is forced to accede and creates the heaven-bull. And now Ishtar breaks out in these words: "I will have revenge." The account of the fight of the two heroes, Gilgamesh and Eabani, against the heaven-bull is almost completely lost. Lines 122 and 123 appear to say:

They?] hunted him and Eabani [attacked?] the heaven-bull,
* * * and grasped him by his heavy tail.

On an old Babylonian cylinder representing the fight we see the bull standing on its hind feet, Eabani holding the monster by its head and tail, while Gilgamesh plunges the dagger into its heart. We can also gather from the remains of the lines that three hundred heroes took part in the fight. After the heroes had killed the bull and had thus satisfied their hearts, they brought unto Shamash, the sun god, a thank offering. The narrative then continues:

Then Ishtar went up to the wall of Erech, the strong-walled;
she uttered a piercing cry and broke out into a curse, (saying):
"Woe to Gilgamesh, who thus has grieved me,
and has killed the heaven-bull."
But Eabani, hearing these words of Ishtar,
tore out the right side of the heaven-bull,[1]
and threw it into her face, (saying):
"And thus I will, indeed, defeat thee;

[1] Parts of the right side of the animal were usually reserved for sacrificial purposes. Eabani here adds insult to injury.

and I will do unto thee even as I have done to him;[1]
I will hang its heart(?) upon thy side, forsooth."
Then Ishtar gathered her followers, that ruin men,
the hierodules and the sacred prostitutes.
Over the right side of the heaven-bull she wept and lamented.
But Gilgamesh assembled the people, and all his workmen.[2]
The workmen admired the size of its horns.
Thirty minas of precious stones was their value;
half of an inch (?) in size was their thickness (?).
Six measures of oil they both could hold.
For the anointing of his god Lugal-tur-da[3] he dedicated it.
He brought the horns and hung them up in the shrine of his lordship.
Then they washed their hands in the river Euphrates,
took the road, and set out (for the city),
and rode through the streets of the city of Erech.
The people of Erech assembled and looked with astonishment [at the heroes?].
Gilgamesh then spoke to the servants (?) of [his palace?]
and cried out unto them, (saying):
"Who is glorious among the heroes?
Who shines among the men?"
"Gilgamesh?] is glorious among the heroes,
Gilgamesh?] shines among the men!"

[Lines 204 to 206 are lost.]

and Gilgamesh held a joyful feast in his palace.
Then the heroes slept, stretched out upon their couches.
And Eabani slept, and saw a vision in his sleep.
He arose (in the morning) and "solved" the dream,
and spoke unto Gilgamesh thus:
"My friend, wherefor have the great gods thus taken counsel?"

[1] That is, as I did unto the heaven-bull.
[2] Or his faithful followers (?), as in Tablet XI.
[3] Shamash.

The last line of the sixth tablet represents, no doubt, the beginning of the next (the seventh) tablet. This line is followed as usual by the colophon, thus:

The sixth tablet of: "He who has seen the history of Gilgamesh."

TABLETS VII AND VIII

Only a few fragments have been preserved, and very scanty information can be gathered from them. Tablet VII must have begun with Eabani's account of his dream on the morning after the victory-jubilee in Erech, and closed with the death of that hero, brought about by the goddess Ishtar. Pages 53 and 54 (cf. 55) of Professor Haupt's edition are said, by Dr. Jeremias, to belong to Tablet VIII, because the preceding column (a Column VI), being the obverse of the same tablet, speaks of the sickness and death of Eabani (see Tablet IX). In Col. I, Eabani calls on his friend to perform some heroic deed, worthy of his renown. They are halting in front of a forest gate, which Eabani thus addresses:

There is none other tree like unto thee;
Six gar[1] is thy height and two gar thy thickness.

Eabani also says of it, "I know thee." And in Col. VI he moans:

"In good health I went forth, my friend. * * *
But the dream which I dreamed has been fulfilled."
And there lay Eabani for twelve days [on the first and the second day?]
on which Eabani on his couch [lay sick?];
On the third and the fourth * * *;
On the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, etc., day
on which Eabani [lay sick on his couch?]
The eleventh, the twelfth day * * *
On which Eabani lay on his couch * * *
Then he called to Gilgamesh.

[1] A gar seems to have been twelve or fourteen cubits long.

The few traces of the following lines still show that the hero received his wound in a fight which in fearful premonition "he had feared." The lament for the dead in Tablet XII shows that it must have been a very severe and unusual fight. Of his end, narrated, no doubt, on Tablet IX, it is said repeatedly in Tablet XII: "Earth has snatched him away."

TABLET IX

begins with the lament of Gilgamesh for the death of his friend, and with his resolve to go to his ancestor Per-napishtim,[1] that he may learn the mystery of the latter's apotheosis, and, at the same time, secure recovery from a loathsome disease,[2] with which Ishtar has smitten him.

Gilgamesh wept bitterly over the loss of his friend
Eabani, and he lay stretched out upon the ground, (saying):
"I will not die like Eabani,
But weeping has entered into my heart;
Fear of death has befallen me, and
I lie here stretched out upon the ground.
To (test) the strength of Per-napishtim,[3] the son of Kidin-Marduk,
I will set out, and I will go at once."[4]
"At the mountain ravine I arrived by night-time,
* * * Lions I saw, and I was afraid;
* * * but I lifted my head to god Sin and I prayed.

[1] So read by Professor Haupt; or Par-napishtim, Jastrow, Zimmern, and others = sprout or offspring of life; Jensen (1890) and Jeremias read Çet-napishtim = the saved one; Jensen (1900), Ut-napishtim; Ball, Hommel, etc., Nuch-napishtim = rest of the soul, whence Hebrew Noah; formerly also read Shamash-napishtim = sun of life, and Um-napishtim = day of life.

[2] According to Professor Christopher Johnston, "apparently the lues venerea," see "American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures," xvi, p. 30.

[3] Which, of course, means: to P. N., the hero; similar expressions are found in Homer's "Iliad" and "Odyssey."

[4] Gilgamesh starts out at once, and then, continuing the monclogue narrates as follows.

To the [great?] majesty of the god came my cry,
[and he hearkened] and saved me, even me."
And in the night he saw?] a vision and a dream,
Lions * * *] were enjoying themselves."
And he lifted the axe in his hand,
and drew out the sword from his belt.
Like a javelin he threw himself between them;
he wounded, killed, and scattered [them?]

[The rest of the column is lost.]

Col. II narrates the meeting of Gilgamesh with the scorpion-men, at the foot

of a mountain whose name is Mashu.
As he came to the mountain of Mashu,
whose entrance is guarded daily by monsters,
whose back extends to the dam of heaven,
and whose breast reaches down to Aralu,[1]
Scorpion-men guard its gate;
Dreadful terror they spread, and it is death to behold them.
Their splendour is fearful, overthrowing the mountains;
From sunrise to sunset they guard the sun.
Gilgamesh beheld them, and with fear
and terror his face grew dark.
His mind became confused at the wildness of their aspect.
But one scorpion-man said to his wife:
"He that there cometh to us, flesh of the gods is his body."
And the wife answered the scorpion-man:
"Two (thirds) he resembles a god, and one third only a man."
And the scorpion-man replied and said unto her:
["One] of the gods has given the order;
[and] he has travelled over far-distant roads,
until he should come unto me.
The mountains] which he has crossed are steep."

[The remainder is broken away.]

[1] Hades.

Col. III, as far as the fragments permit us to see, narrates that Gilgamesh, seeing that the monster regarded him with friendly eyes, recovered from his fright and told the scorpion-man of his intention to go " to Per-napishtim, his ancestor, who had been removed into the assembly of the gods and [had thus power over] life and death." The scorpion-man replied by describing to Gilgamesh the difficulties and dangers connected with such a march through the mountain of Mashu. Nobody has yet been able to do so, twelve miles of heavy darkness in all directions having to be penetrated. But the hero was not discouraged, and the scorpion-man acceded to his urgent request and opened to him the gate of the mountain; and now begins the wearisome march:

One mile he marches, thick is the darkness, not does it grow light.
Two miles he marches, thick is the darkness, not does it grow light.

Col. V (p. 65) continues the description of the twelve-mile walk in the same diffuse epic style; then the hero leaves the mountain and—on the shore of the sea—beholds a beautiful and wonderful tree:

And as he saw it, he ran toward it.
Diamonds (?) it bore as fruit,
Branches were hanging (down?), beautiful to behold.
Crystal (antimony?) the branches bore;
with fruit it was laden, dazzling the eye (of the hero).

Other precious trees are also there. In Col. VI Gilgamesh must have reached the seacoast, for

TABLET X

commences, as shown in the colophon to Tablet IX:

The (divine) girl Sabitu, sitting upon the throne of the sea,

probably a poetic expression for the ocean-palace, in which she resides, as we are told later. In Col. II, Gilgamesh

finds another obstacle in his way, as he arrived "clothed with a skin." Again, he began to lament and was angered at the "distant roads" that he had yet to travel.

Sabitu sees him from afar off,
and she speaks to herself
and [takes counsel] with herself:
"Because this * * *
How shall he succeed (?) in [his endeavour?]
And as Sabitu sees him approach she closes [her ocean-palace?]
Its gate she closes and closes * * *
But Gilgamesh listens to * * *
Lifts up his finger (?) and * * *
Then Gilgamesh spoke unto Sabitu and said:
"Sabitu, what doest thou gaze [at me?].
Why doest thou bolt the gate against me?];
For I will break [thy gate"

The lower part of the plate is destroyed, and we can only conjecture that Sabitu described to the hero the impossibility of continuing his journey, which would lead him across an impassable sea. In Col. II the hero again tells the reason for his journey, and laments the loss of his beloved friend, Eabani, who has now returned to dust, and to share whose lot seems unbearable to him.

And Gilgamesh said unto her, the Sabitu:
Tell me, O Sabitu, which is the way to Per-napishtim?
What is its direction, O Sabitu, tell me its direction.
If it be possible, I will cross the sea;
But if it is impossible, I will run there across the field."
And Sabitu answered unto Gilgamesh, and said:
"Gilgamesh, there has never been a crossing (here),
and no one since eternal days has ever crossed the sea.
Shamash, the hero, crosses it; but besides Shamash who can cross it?
Difficult is the crossing, and extremely dangerous the way,

and closed are the Waters of Death[1] which bolt its entrance.
How, then, Gilgamesh, wilt thou cross the sea?
And if thou should'st reach the Waters of Death, what wouldst thou do?
But Gilgamesh, there is Arad-Ea, the sailor of Per-napishtim
at the side of 'those with stones'; in the forest he fells a cedar.
Him may thy countenance behold.
If possible, cross over with him; but if impossible, go back."
When Gilgamesh heard this,
he lifted up the axe at his arm,
drew the sword from his belt, slipped in and descended to [* * *];
and fell like a javelin between them.

The hero stands at the entrance to the Waters of Death, which are supposed to surround the ocean. The "Isle of the Blessed" is thought to be beyond these Waters of Death, just as in the case of the Netherworld. In Col. III Gilgamesh tells Arad-Ea of his grief, using undoubtedly the same words as before, and closes with the request to ferry him over.

Arad-Ea said unto Gilgamesh:
"Thy hand, O Gilgamesh, has prevented [the crossing].
Thou hast smashed 'those with stones' * * *
'Those with stones' are now smashed and the * * * is no more.
Take, Gilgamesh, the axe at thy side,
go into the wood and make one hundred and twenty oars[2] five gar long."

He is also to make other preparations for his journey.

[1] According to Professor Jensen, ocean. Could it perhaps be (the breakers) which practically closed the entrance to the ocean?

[2] Or rather, a pole, such as is used in Oriental countries even up to this date.

And Gilgamesh on hearing this (i. e., Arad-Ea's instructions),
took the axe at his side, and [drew the sword from his belt].
He went into the woods and felled trees for one hundred and twenty oars five gar in length,
smeared them over with pitch and brought them [to Arad-Ea].
Then Gilgamesh and Arad-Ea embarked;
the ship tossed to and fro while they were on their way.
A journey of forty and five days they accomplished within three days,
and thus Arad-Ea arrived at the Waters of Death.

And now they begin to face the most serious dangers. Col. IV relates that the ferryman advises the hero not to give in, as long as the journey upon the Waters of Death lasts. Many a day they spent on their journey, and day after day Gilgamesh stuck to the oar;

and then Gilgamesh loosened his belt (i. e., rested from his exertions),
for he was weary.
And Per-napishtim looking at him from the distance
Began thinking within himself, and
With himself he thus meditated:
"Why are ['those with stones'] of the ship smashed?
And one, who has not my * * * rides in [the ship].
He that comes there [is he?] not a man, and has he not the 'right side' of a man?
I look: (Is that) * * * not [a human being?]
I look: (Is that) * * * not [a man?]
I look: (Is that) * * * [not a god?]
He resembles me in every respect."

At the beginning of Col. V, Gilgamesh drew nigh unto the shore safely and, while still sitting in the ship, he poured out his tale of woe before his ancestor; he told him of the adventures which he and his friend had encountered, among which was one with a "panther of the field"; then

follows an account of the killing of the heaven-bull; the slaying of Humbaba, the despot, who had lived in a cedar forest; other adventures with tigers; his friend's sickness and sad death; and "now I weep because of him"; then he tells how he had wandered across all the countries, passed over steep mountains, and crossed dreadful seas, but all in vain:

"The friend whom I loved has been turned to clay; Eabani, my friend.
And I will not, like unto him, lie down; not will I sink to where my friend is now."
And Gilgamesh said unto Per-napishtim:
"Here I have come, and Per-napishtim, whom people call the 'distant,' I will see.
To him I will turn (for help?); I have travelled through all the lands,
I have crossed over the steep mountains,
and I have traversed all the seas," etc.

Col. VI must have contained a lengthy reply of Per-napishtim, telling him that he could do nothing to help him to escape from death. He told him that death comes to all, that none could escape from it.

As long as houses are built, as long as tablets are sealed,
as long as brothers are at enmity,
as long as there exist strife and hatred in the land,
as long as the river carries the waters (to the sea?), etc.,
so long is there no likeness of death drawn (i. e., no man can tell when his own time might come).
When the alu-demon and the eziz-demon greet[1] a man,
then the Anunnaki, the great gods [assemble]
and the goddess of fate, she who with them determines fate, will do so,
For they determine death and life.
But the days of death are unknown to mankind.

[1] Used ironically (?); alu and eziz are two evil demons.

Then follows the colophon stating that this was the tenth tablet of the great epic.

TABLET XI

contains the famous account of the deluge. The text of this tablet is published by Friedrich Delitzsch in his "Assyrische Lesestücke," third edition, pp. 101–109; and, more recently, by Professor Haupt in the second part of his "Das Babylonische Nimrodepos," pp. 133–150, this latter being a complete, critical text, giving all the variant readings and additional remarks beneath the text.[1] The original publication on plates 50 and 51 in the fourth volume of the "Inscriptions of Western Asia" has been re-edited, with many improvements, in the second edition of this volume, by Theophilus G. Pinches, in 1891 (plates 43 and 44).—Translations of the deluge story (lines 1–104 of Haupt's edition), or of parts thereof, have been made, since the days of George Smith, by many Assyriologists—e. g., Fox Talbot, Jules Oppert, F. Lenormant. Special attention is called here to the following translations: 1. Peter Jensen, in his "Cosmology of the Babylonians" (pp. 365–446), and in "Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen," pp. 228–257; 2. Alfred Jeremias, in his "Izdubar-Nimrod" (pp. 32–40, translating the whole eleventh tablet); 3. H. Winckler, "Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament" (pp. 70–87); 4. Heinrich Zimmern in Gunkel's book on "Creation and Chaos" (pp. 423–428); 5. L. W. King, "First Steps in Assyrian" (London, 1898, pp. 161–181, text, transliteration, and translation), and the same author's "Babylonian Religion and Mythology" (London, 1899, chap. iv, pp. 121–146); 6. C. J. Ball, "Light from the East, or the Witness of the Monuments" (London, 1899, pp. 34 foll.); 7. According to Professor Jastrow's statement on p. 730 of his "Religion of Babylonia and As-

[1] The texts belonging to Tablet XI occupy pages 95–150 of the second part—viz., pp. 95–105 contain the fragments of copy A of this tablet; pp. 106–113 the fragments of copy B; pp. 114–119 those of copy C; and pp. 120–132 a number of additional fragments.

syria," the transliteration and translation of the deluge text, together with critical notes and commentary, by Professor Haupt in the forthcoming third edition of Schrader's "Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament," is to be by far the best ever published.—In general, see also the article "Deluge," by H. Zimmern and T. K. Cheyne in Cheyne and Black's "Encyclopædia Biblica," London, 1899, vol. i, cols. 1055–1066.

Tablet XI continues the dialogue between Per-napishtim and Gilgamesh, begun in Cols. V and VI of the preceding tablet.

Gilgamesh said to him, to Per-napishtim, the distant:[1]
"I gaze upon thee (in amazement), O Per-napishtim!
Thy appearance has not changed, like unto me thou art also.
And thy nature itself has not changed, like unto me thou art also,
though thou hast departed this life. But my heart has still to struggle
against all that no longer (?) lies upon thee.
Tell me, How didst thou come to dwell (here?) and obtain eternal life among the gods?"

[From the shore Per-napishtim, the favourite of the gods, now relates the story of the deluge to the hero, who, sitting in his ship, is listening to him.]

Per-napishtim then said unto Gilgamesh:
"I will reveal unto thee, O Gilgamesh, the mysterious story,
and the mystery[2] of the gods I will tell thee.
The city of Shurippak,[3] a city which, as thou knowest,
is situated on the bank of the river Euphrates.
That city was corrupt, so that the gods within it
decided to bring about a deluge, even the great gods,
as many as?] there were: their father, Anu;

[1] Others, far removed; the remote, perhaps with reference to line 204 (see below, p. 358, lines 17–20).
[2] Or, decision (?, Haupt).
[3] According to Jensen and others, the city of Larancha.

their counsellor, the warrior Bel;
their leader, Ninib;
their champion, the god En-nu-gi.
But Ea, the lord of unfathomable wisdom, argued with them.
Their plan he told to a reed-hut, (saying):
'Reed-hut, reed-hut, clay-structure, clay-structure!
Reed-hut, hear; clay-structure, pay attention![1]
Thou man of Shurippak, son of Ubara-Tutu,[2]
Build a house, construct a ship;
Forsake thy possessions, take heed for thy life!
Abandon thy goods, save (thy) life,
and bring living seed of every kind into the ship.
As for the ship, which thou shalt build,
let its proportions be well measured:
Its breadth and its length shall bear proportion each to each,
and into the sea then launch it.'
I took heed, and said to Ea, my lord:
'I will do, my lord, as thou hast commanded;
I will observe and will fulfil the command.
But what shall I answer to (the inquiries of) the city, the people, and the elders?'
Ea opened his mouth and spoke,
and he said unto me, his servant:
'Man, as an answer say thus unto them:
"I know that Bel hates me.
No longer can I live in your city;
Nor on Bel's territory can I live securely any longer;[3]
I will go down to the 'deep,' I will live with Ea, my lord.
Upon you he[4] will (for a time?) pour down rich blessing.
He will grant you] fowl [in plenty] and fish in abundance,
Herds of cattle and an abundant] harvest.
Shamash has appointed a time when the rulers of darkness[5]
at eventide will pour down upon you] a destructive rain."'

[1] See note 2 on page 358. [2] Kidin-Marduk.
[3] Literally, lay down my head; Bel's territory was the land, as the ocean was that of Ea. [4] Bel.
[5] So Zimmern, Jensen (1900); others, when he who sends heavy rains (Jeremias).

The lower part of Col. I is unfortunately much mutilated. Line 48 seems to read:

As soon as early dawn appeared.

Then continues line 55:

The brightness [of day?] I feared;
All that was necessary I collected together.
On the fifth day I drew its design;[1]
In its middle part its sides were ten gar[2] high;
Ten gar also was the extent of its deck;
I added a front-roof to it and closed it in.
I built it in six stories,
thus making seven floors in all;
The interior of each I divided again into nine partitions.[3]
Beaks for water within I cut out.
I selected a pole and added all that was necessary.
Three (variant, five) shar of pitch I smeared on its outside;
three shar of asphalt I used for the inside (so as to make it water-tight).
Three shar of oil the men carried, carrying it in vessels.
One shar of oil I kept out and used it for sacrifices,
while the other two shar the boatman stowed away.
For the temple of the gods (?) I slaughtered oxen;
I killed lambs (?) day by day.
Jugs of cider (?), of oil, and of sweet wine,
Large bowls (filled therewith?), like river water (i. e., freely) I poured out as libations.
I made a feast (to the gods) like that of the New-Year's Day.[4]
To god Shamash my hands brought oil.[5]
[* * *][6] the ship was completed.

[1] Or, I constructed its hull.
[2] = one hundred and twenty cubits.
[3] Thus making in all sixty-three partitions.
[4] This festival, celebrated on New-Year's day, was held later in commemoration of the deluge, New-Year's day being originally celebrated in memory of the creation.
[5] That is, I sacrificed to him.
[6] Zimmern, on the seventh day (but??).

[* * *] heavy was the work, and
I added tackling above and below, [and after all was finished],
The ship sank into water] two thirds of its height.
With all that I possessed I filled it;
with all the silver I had I filled it;
with all the gold I had I filled it;
with living creatures of every kind I filled it.
Then I embarked also all my family and my relatives,
cattle of the field, beasts of the field, and the uprighteous people—all them I embarked.
A time had Shamash appointed, (namely):
'When the rulers of darkness send at eventide a destructive rain,
then enter into the ship and shut its door.'[1]
This very sign came to pass, and
The rulers of darkness sent a destructive rain at eventide.
I saw the approach of the storm,
and I was afraid to witness the storm;
I entered the ship and shut the door.
I intrusted the guidance of the ship to Purur-bel, the boatman,[2]
the great house, and the contents thereof.
As soon as early dawn appeared,
there rose up from the horizon a black cloud,
within which the weather god (Adad) thundered,
and Nabu and the king of the gods (Marduk) went before.
The destroyers passed across mountain and dale (literally, country).
Dibbara, the great,[3] tore loose the anchor-cable (?).
There went Ninib and he caused the banks to overflow;
the Anunnaki lifted on high (their) torches,
and with the brightness thereof they illuminated the universe.
The storm brought on by Adad swept even up to the heavens,

[1] Variant reading says, thy ship.
[2] Of course, not the same as Arad-Ea, mentioned before.
[3] Or Uragal (?).

and all light was turned into darkness.
[ ] overflooded the land like * * *
It blew with violence and in one day (?) it rose above the mountains (??).
Like an onslaught in battle it rushed in on the people.
Not could brother look after brother.
Not were recognised the people from heaven.
The gods even were afraid of the storm;
they retreated and took refuge in the heaven of Anu.[1]
There the gods crouched down like dogs, on the inclosure of heaven[2] they sat cowering.
Then Ishtar cried out like a woman in travail,[3]
and the lady of the gods lamented with a loud voice,[4] (saying):
'The world of old has been turned back into clay,
because I assented to this evil in the assembly of the gods.
Alas! that when I assented to this evil in the council of the gods,
I was for the destruction of my own people.
What I have created, where is it?
Like the spawn of fish it fills the sea.'[5]
The gods wailed with her over the Anunnaki.
The gods were bowed down, and sat there weeping.
Their lips were pressed together (in fear and in terror).
Six days and nights
The wind blew, and storm and tempest overwhelmed the country.
When the seventh day drew nigh the tempest, the storm, the battle
which they had waged like a great host began to moderate.
The sea quieted down; hurricane and storm ceased.
I looked out upon the sea and raised loud my voice,
But all mankind had turned back into clay.

[1] Jensen, the sky; others, the highest part of heaven.
[2] The firmament? [3] Variant reading has, full of wrath.
[4] Jeremias, who always speaks kindly.
[5] Zimmern translates lines 123 and 124, shall I ever again bring human beings into this world, when now, like the spawn of fish, they fill the sea?

Like the surrounding field had become the bed of the rivers.[1]
I opened the air-hole and light fell upon my cheek.
Dumfounded I sank backward, and sat weeping,
while over my cheek flowed the tears.
I looked in every direction, and behold, all was sea.
Now, after twelve (days?) there rose (out of the water) a strip of land.[2]
To Mount Nisir the ship drifted.
On Mount Nisir the boat stuck fast and it did not slip away.
The first day, the second day, Mount Nisir held the ship fast, and did not let it slip away.
The third day, the fourth day, Mount Nisir held the ship fast, and did not let it slip away.
The fifth day, the sixth day, Mount Nisir held the ship fast, and did not let it slip away.
When the seventh day drew nigh
I sent out a dove, and let her go.
The dove flew hither and thither,
but as there was no resting-place for her, she returned.
Then I sent out a swallow, and let her go.
The swallow flew hither and thither,
but as there was no resting-place for her she also returned.
Then I sent out a raven, and let her go.
The raven flew away and saw the abatement of the waters.
She settled down to feed,[3] went away, and returned no more.
Then I let everything go out unto the four winds, and I offered a sacrifice.
I poured out a libation upon the peak of the mountain.
I placed the censers seven and seven,

[1] That is, there was everything covered with water; Jastrow, in place of dams, everything had become a marsh; King, in place of fields, there lay before me a swamp; Jensen (1900), as soon as daylight appeared, I prayed.

[2] Others, after twelve double hours; Jeremias, twelve cubits high land arose; Zimmern, toward the twelfth (cardinal point) land arose.

[3] Either on floating carcasses or on the slimy mud; King, and she came near, wading and croaking, but did not return.

and poured into them calamus, cedar-wood, and sweet-
incense.
The gods smelt the savour;
yea, the gods smelt the sweet savour;
the gods gathered like flies around the sacrificer.
But when now the lady of the gods (Ishtar) drew nigh,
she lifted up the precious ornaments (?)[1] which Anu had
made according to her wish (and said):
'Ye gods here! by my necklace, not will I forget.
These days will I remember, never will I forget (them).
Let the gods come to the offering;
But Bel shall not come to the offering,
Since rashly he caused the flood-storm,
and handed over my people unto destruction.'
Now, when Bel drew nigh,
and saw the ship, the god was wroth,
and anger against the gods, the Igigi, filled his heart, (and
he said):
'Who then has escaped here (with his life)?
No man was to survive the universal destruction.'
Then Ninib opened his mouth and spoke,
saying unto Bel, the warrior:
'Who but Ea could have planned this!
For does not Ea know all arts?'
Then Ea opened his mouth and spoke,
saying unto Bel, the warrior:
'Ay, thou wise one among the gods, thou warrior,
how rash of thee to bring about a flood-storm!
On the sinner visit his sin,
and on the wicked his wickedness;
but be merciful, forbear, let not all be destroyed! Be con-
siderate, let not everything be [confounded]!
Instead of sending a flood-storm,
let lions[2] come and diminish mankind;
Instead of sending a flood-storm,
let tigers come and diminish mankind;

[1] Literally, the great lightnings.
[2] Compare 2 Kings, xvii, 25; Ezek., xiv, 15.

Instead of sending a flood-storm,
let famine come and smite the land;
Instead of sending a flood-storm,
let pestilence come and kill off the people.[1]
I did not reveal the mystery of the great gods.
(Some one?) caused Atrachasis to see (it) in a dream, and so
he (Per-napishtim) heard the mystery of the gods."[2]
Thereupon Bel arrived at a decision.
Bel went up into the ship,
took me by the hand and led me out.
He led out also my wife and made her kneel beside me;
He turned us face to face, and standing between us, blessed
us, (saying):
'Ere this Per-napishtim was only human;
But now Per-napishtim and his wife shall be lofty like unto
the gods;
Let Per-napishtim live far away (from men) at the mouth of
the (two?) rivers.'
Then they took me and let us dwell far away at the mouth
of the rivers."[3]

After Per-napishtim had finished this account, he turned to Gilgamesh and said:

"Now as for thee, which one of the gods shall give thee
strength,
that the life thou desirest thou shalt obtain?

[1] See Ezek., xiv, 21; Jer., xv, 3.

[2] According to Dr. Jeremias, Atrachasis was not another name for Per-napishtim, but the name of a messenger of the gods; his name = the very wise; Haupt, the most holy, religious. Through Atrachasis, Per-napishtim heard of the impending disaster. Professor Jastrow, in the New York "Independent," February 10 and 17, 1898, maintained that (1) Per-napishtim was the hero of a local tradition of a rainstorm, submerging a single city; while (2) Atrachasis = Chasis-adra (cf. Gen. vi, 9), the prototype of Ξισουθρος, was the hero of the larger Nature myth, based upon the annual phenomenon of the overflow of the Euphrates. See also Jastrow, in "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," vol. xii, pp. 288–301. According to most scholars, Ea addresses the hut in which Per-napishtim (= Atrachasis) was sleeping, thus revealing to him in sleep the mystery of the gods.

[3] For other accounts of the story of the deluge, see below, at the end of the twelfth tablet of the Nimrod epic.

Now sleep!" And for six days and seven nights
Gilgamesh resembled one lying lame.
Sleep came over him like a storm wind.
Then Per-napishtim said to his wife:
"Behold, here is the hero whose desire is life (= recovery)!
Sleep came upon him like a storm wind."
And the wife replied to Per-napishtim, the distant:
"Transform him; let the man eat of the charm-root.
Let him, restored in health, return on the road on which he came.
Let him pass out through the great door unto his own country."
And Per-napishtim said to his wife:
"The suffering (and torture) of the man pain thee.
Well, then, cook now for him the food and place it at his head."
And while Gilgamesh slept on board of his ship,
she cooked the food to place it at his head.
And while he slept on board of his ship,
firstly, his food was prepared (?);
secondly, it was peeled; thirdly, it was moistened;
fourthly, his food (?) was cleaned;
fifthly, shiba (i. e., old age) [1] was added;
sixthly, it was cooked;
seventhly, of a sudden the man was transformed, having eaten of the magic food.
Then spoke Gilgamesh, and said unto Per-napishtim, the distant:
"I had sunk down, and sleep had befallen me.
Of a sudden thou didst charm me, and thus help me" (?).
And Per-napishtim said unto Gilgamesh:
"* * * Gilgamesh partake of (?) thy food.
* * * shall be told unto thee:
firstly, thy food was prepared (?);
secondly, it was peeled; thirdly, it was moistened;
fourthly, thy food (?) was cleaned;

[1] Name given to some plant of magic power (?).

fifthly, shipa was added;
sixthly, it was cooked;
seventhly, I transformed thee suddenly,
and thou didst eat of the magic food."
And Gilgamesh said unto Per-napishtim, the distant:
"What?] shall I do, Per-napishtim? whither shall I go?
The demon (of the dead?) has seized my [friend?].
Upon my couch death now sits.
And where my * * * there is death."
And Per-napishtim said to Arad-Ea, the ferryman:
"Arad-Ea, thou * * * at thy side (?), let the boat carry thee;
whosoever attempts to board [the ship?] exclude him from it.
The man, before whom thou goest,
has his body covered with sores,
and the eruption of his skin has altered the beauty of his body.
Take him, Arad-Ea, and bring him to the place of purification,
where he can wash his sores in water that they may become white as snow;
Let him cast off his (sore?) skin and the sea will carry it away;
His body shall then appear well (and healthy);
Let the turban also be replaced on his head,
and the garment that covers his nakedness.
Until he returns to his city,
until he arrives at his road.
The garment shall not shed [hair?], it shall remain entirely new."
And Arad-Ea took him and brought him to the place of purification,
where he washed his sores in water so that they became white as snow;
he cast off his (sore?) skin and the sea carried it away;
his body appeared well (and healthy) again;
He replaced also the turban on his head;

and the garment that covered his nakedness;
until he should return to his city;
until he should arrive at his road;
[the garment did not shed hair], it remained entirely new.
Then Gilgamesh and Arad-Ea embarked again,
and during their journey the ship tossed to and fro.

[After Gilgamesh and Arad-Ea had returned from the place of purification:]

The wife of Per-napishtim spoke unto her husband, the distant, (saying):
"Gilgamesh did go away, laboured, and has pulled (the oar?).
What now wilt thou do (or give), that he may return to his country?"
And Gilgamesh lifted up the pole,
and drew the boat nearer to the shore.
Then Per-napishtim spoke unto Gilgamesh (and said):
"Gilgamesh, thou didst go away, didst labour and pull (the oar?).
What now shall I give thee, that thou mayest return to thy country?
I will reveal unto thee, Gilgamesh, a mystery,
and [the decision of the gods] I will announce unto thee.
There is a plant resembling buckthorn,
its thorn (?) stings like that of a bramble.
When thy hands can reach that plant * * *"[1]
When Gilgamesh had heard this
he opened the * * *
bound heavy stones [to his feet],
which dragged him down to the sea [and thus he found the plant].
Then he grasped the (magic) plant.
He removed [from his feet] the heavy stones [and one fell down?],
and a second he threw down to the [first?].
And Gilgamesh said unto Arad-Ea, the ferryman:

[1] The following lines 286–293 are greatly mutilated

"Arad-Ea, this plant is a plant of great renown (or transformation?);
and what man desires in his heart, he obtains.
I will take it to Erech the strong-walled, I will nurse (plant?) it there and then cut it off.
Its name is (?): 'Even an old man will be rejuvenated!'
I will eat of this and return (again) to the vigour of my youth."

[And now they start out to return home to Erech the strong-walled.]

Every twenty double-leagues they then took a meal:
and every thirty double-leagues they took a rest.
And Gilgamesh saw a well wherein was cool (and refreshing) water;
He stepped into it and poured out some water.
A (demon in the shape of a) serpent darted out; the plant slipped [away from his hands];
he came [out of the well?], and took the plant away,
and as he turned back, he uttered a curse (?).
And after this Gilgamesh sat down and wept.
Tears flowed down his cheeks,
and he said unto Arad-Ea, the ferryman:
"Why, Arad-Ea, did my hands tremble?
Why did the blood of my heart stand still?[1]
Not on myself did I bestow any benefit.
On the ground-lion (?) this benefit has been bestowed.
After a journey of only twenty double-leagues the plant has been snatched away,
As I opened the well, and lowered the vessel (?).
I see the sign, that has become an omen to me. I am to return,
leaving the ship on the shore."
Then they continued to take a meal every twenty double-leagues,
and every thirty double-leagues they took a rest,
until they arrived at Erech the strong-walled.

[1] That is, why was I thus frightened?

Gilgamesh then spoke to Arad-Ea, the ferryman, (and said):
"Arad-Ea, ascend and walk about on the wall of Erech,
Inspect the corner-stone, and examine its brick-work, whether its wall is not made of burned brick,
and its foundation (overlaid with?) pitch. 'Sevenfold is thy name' (?).[1]

[The closing lines can not be correctly translated.]

Then follows the first line of Tablet XII; and the usual colophon indicating that the tablet is the eleventh of the Gilgamesh epic, copied faithfully from the original, and the property of Ashurbanipal.

TABLET XII

Only the second half of Col. I is preserved, and relates how Gilgamesh, after his return from this long journey, continued to lament over the loss of his friend Eabani. Addressing him, though absent, he said:

"To a temple [thou goest no more?]
white garments [thou puttest on no more].
Like an ordinary mortal (?) thou art fallen.
With sweet-smelling bull's fat dost thou no more anoint thyself,
and people no more gather around thee on account of this sweet odour.
The bow no longer dost thou stretch upon the ground;
and those that were slain with the bow now are round about thee.
The staff no longer dost thou carry in thy hand;
The spirits of death have taken thee captive.
Sandals no longer dost thou tie to thy feet;
A (war) cry no longer dost thou shout here on earth;
Thy wife whom thou lovedst, no longer dost thou kiss;
Thy wife whom thou hatedst, no longer dost thou smite.

[1] Addressed to Erech (?).

Thy son whom thou lovedst, no longer dost thou kiss;
Thy son whom thou hatedst, no longer dost thou smite.
The woes of the netherworld have overtaken thee; as well as
she that is dark, she that is dark, mother Nin-azu, who is dark,[1]
whose white, shining body is not clothed with a garment,
whose breast like the bowl (lid?) of a case [is not * * *]."

In Cols. II and III Gilgamesh goes alone into the temple of the god Ningul, and laments over the loss of his friend in similar words:

" His wife whom he loved, no longer does he kiss;
His wife whom he hated, no longer does he smite;
His son whom he loved, no longer does he kiss;
His son whom he hated, no longer does he smite.
The woes of earth have snatched him away, and
she that is dark, she that is dark, mother Nin-azu, who is dark,
whose white, shining body is not clothed with a garment,
whose breast like the bowl (lid?) of a box [is not * * *].
Eabani has [gone down?] from earth into [darkness?];
pestilence has not snatched him away, consumption has not snatched him away;
earth has snatched him away.
The lurking demon of Nergal, the merciless, has not snatched him away,
earth has snatched him away.
The battlefield has not slain him; earth has snatched him away."
[While Gilgamesh spoke thus?] Ningul wept for his servant Eabani.[2]
Then Gilgamesh went alone to E-kur the Temple of Bel (Marduk?) (and prayed):

[1] Consort of Nergal the goddess of medicine and healing, and also the goddess of the netherworld.

[2] But apparently would not do anything to bring back Eabani.

"Father Bel, the sting of a fly has cast me down upon the ground;
Insects have brought me low to the ground.
Eabani [has sunk down] to the shades;
Pestilence has not snatched him away, etc. * * *
The lurking demon of Nergal, the merciless [has not snatched him away].
The battlefield has not slain him."
But father Bel could not help him.[1]

[In his sorrow, Gilgamesh addresses himself then to the Moon-god, saying:]

"Father Sin, the sting of a fly has cast me down upon the ground;
Insects have brought me low to the ground.
Eabani [has sunk down] to the shades;
Pestilence has not snatched him away, etc.
The lurking demon of Nergal, the merciless [has not snatched him away]."

[But Sin also could not do anything for Gilgamesh, nor could Ea, to whom he appealed with the same lament. But Ea besought Nergal, the god of the dead, the "hero and lord" (saying):]

"Break open the chamber of the grave [and open the ground],
that the spirit of Eabani, like a wind,
may rise out of the ground."
When Nergal, the hero and lord, heard this prayer,
He broke open the chamber of the grave and opened the ground;
and caused the spirit of Eabani to rise out of the ground, like a wind.

Col. IV begins with a dialogue between Gilgamesh and Eabani; the former asking his friend to describe unto him the netherworld:

[1] Literally, said not a word.

"Tell me, my friend, O tell me, my friend;
the appearance (?, looks) of the land,[1] which thou hast seen, O tell me!"

But Eabani replied:

"I can not tell thee, my friend, I can not tell thee.
If I would describe to thee the appearance of the land that I have seen,
[surely, Gilgamesh, thou wouldst?] sit down and weep."
[And Gilgamesh said unto him?]: "Then let me sit down and weep!
[Bitter and sad?] is all that formerly gladdened thy heart.
[All is there—i. e., in the netherworld?] like an old garment that the worm does eat.
What thou hast done [while in this life?], what formerly gladdened thy heart.
[All is gone?] is cloaked in dust.'

The rest of Col. IV and the whole of Col. V are lost. Col. VI closes the whole epic, with Eabani's description of the joys awaiting the hero slain in battle and having received due burial; and bewailing the unhappy, miserable lot of the man to whom are denied the last burial rites; the important lesson for all readers of the poem being, "Take good care of your dead." He is properly cared for who—

rests on a soft couch, and drinks pure water;
the hero slain in battle—
Thou and I have often seen such an one—
His father and mother support his head,
and his wife [kneels] at his side.
Yea! the spirit of such a man is at rest.
But the man whose corpse remains [unburied] upon the field—
Thou and I have often seen such an one—
His spirit does not find rest in the earth (i. e., Hades).

[1] Here = the netherworld, Hades.

The man whose spirit has no one who cares for it—
  Thou and I have often seen such an one—
consumes the dregs of the bowl, the broken remnants of food,
that are cast into the street.

Then follows the colophon of Tablet XII, and of the whole poem, which thus has come to an end.

According to Professor Haupt ("Contributions to Assyriology," vol. i, pp. 318, 319), plates 16–19 of his edition of the Nimrod-epic belong to Tablet XII; Dr. Jeremias, on the other hand, is inclined to believe that these fragments formed part of another recension of the same poem. The fact that there were several recensions of the account of the deluge goes far to strengthen the contention of Dr. Jeremias. The fragments, printed on plates 16–19, are portions of Cols. III and IV of (?) tablet. The mention of the hunter (see above, p. 327); of the Uchat; the address, "my friend," show that Eabani is the speaker. In Col. III he curses the Uchat, who with the assistance of the crafty hunter had "brought a curse upon him." He hopes that "she will be imprisoned in the great prison," curses "her charms," "her sisters," and "her maidens." Col. IV (pp. 17 and 19 of Haupt's edition) states the reason why Eabani curses the Uchat (or perhaps Ishtar directly). Eabani has gone down into the netherworld, and he tells his friend, who with the help of witchcraft has succeeded in bringing him up again, what he has seen there:

"* * * has brought me back
* * * like as the bird of darkness.
I have descended?] to the house of darkness, the dwelling of the goddess Irkalla;[1]
to the house, whence he that enters goes out no more;
to the road, whose way turns not back;
to the house, whose inhabitants are deprived of light;
to the place where dust is their sustenance, their food clay.

[1] Goddess Allatu.

They are clothed, like a bird, with feathered raiment (?).
Light they see not, they sit in darkness.
In] the house, my friend, which I have entered,
in that house] crowns are cast down on the ground,
and there live those who had worn crowns, who in days of old had ruled countries;
to whom Anu and Belit had given roasted meat to eat.
Now, cold meals are prepared, and water from leather bottles is poured out for them.
In the house, my friend, which I have entered,
there dwell also priests and ministers;
There dwell soothsayers and enchanters;
there dwell the temple-anointers of the great gods.
There dwells Etana, and there dwells Ner;
There dwells also the queen of the earth (i. e., of Hades), the goddess Ereshkigal (i. e., Allatu).
[There dwells?] the scribe of the earth, bowed down before her.
* * * and reads before her,
and Ereshkigal lifted up] her head and saw me."

SOME OTHER ACCOUNTS OF AND REFERENCES TO THE DELUGE

A TEXT of King Ashurbanipal, published by C. F. Lehmann in his book "Shamashshumukin," vol. ii, pp. 66 and 67, states that Ashurbanipal read many tablets, and continues: "I was glad to read also the tablet from the time before the deluge."

2. A text published in the fourth volume of the "Inscriptions of Western Asia," plate 19, No. 1, contains probably an account of the deluge.

3. In the "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," vol. iv, pp. 369 fol., Dr. Peiser published a mythological text, with a map giving a primitive picture of Babylon at the time of the deluge; here Per-napishtim is especially mentioned as one of the kings who ruled before the flood. The text is quite fragmentary. The Persian Gulf was conceived of as encompassing Babylon, and round about this ocean lay seven islands. The mountain of the deluge was due north of Babylon, but still within the space inclosed by the ocean. The time of the deluge was apparently designated as "the year of the great serpent."

4. A most important new fragment of a Babylonian account of the deluge was found by Father Scheil, of Paris. It is dated: Month of Shebat, day twenty-eighth, the year in which Ammizaduga built the fortress at the mouth of the river Euphrates—i. e., not much later than 2140 B. C. The subscription, fortunately preserved, informs us that

the document was the tenth chapter of a story whose title was, "While the Man rested," and is thus part of a story quite distinct from the account contained in Tablet XI of the Nimrod-epic. The total number of lines on this tablet was originally four hundred and thirty-nine, but there are only preserved a part of the first, second, seventh, and eighth columns. The first column is in very bad condition and can not be translated. The remnants of Col. II read:

that
that he has
that he should kill, that he should destroy.
In the morning that he should rain down the extermination,
that during the night he should prolong * * *
that he should rain down the inundation * * *
The rain of the plain he will make great; the city * * *
That which Adad shall have accomplished in the city;
He says that he will overturn (?) the land * * *
He raises a cry * * *
(The gods) will not fear * * *

Col. VII:

Ea spoke the word
and said unto me:
"Why wilt thou make men to die * * *
I will reach out my hand to men * * *
The deluge of which thou speakest * * *
Whatever it may be, I * * *
I, shall I have produced (in vain?) * * *
He shall be informed of it * * *
To the end that he build * * *
and he shall beget * * *
That they may enter (into the ship * * *
That Per-napishtim (take) the oar * * *
That he may come * * *
That he may take * * *"

Col. VIII alludes to a god, a benefactor of the human race, and closes with the formula:

Adram-chasis utters his word
and speaks to his lord.

This is followed by the lines which classify and date the document.

See Scheil, in "The Independent," New York, January 20, 1898, pp. 7 and 8; and Morris Jastrow, ibid., February 10 and 17, 1898.

THE MAGICAL TEXTS

THE MAQLU SERIES

FIRST TABLET

INCANTATION. I call unto you, gods of the night,
Together with you I call unto the night, unto the veiled mistress;
I call at evening, at midnight, and at dawn.
Because the sorceress has enchanted me (and)
The charmer has banned me,
My god and my goddess cry aloud over me.
I am in sore distress because of my deafness,
I stand upright, I do not lay me down night or day.
They have filled my mouth with cords,
They have stopped up my mouth with upuntu-weed,
They have denied me water to drink;
My mirth has become misery, my joy sadness.
Arise, great gods, hearken unto my complaint,
Plead my cause and look into my behaviour!
I have made an image of my sorcerer and my sorceress,
Of my enchanter and my enchantress.
I cast myself at your feet and make my complaint:
Because they have done evil things, and have sought out that which is impure,
May every one of them die, but may I live!
May their sorcery, their witchcraft, their bewitchment be loosed!
May the binu-tree, whose bark (?) is torn off (?), purify me!
May * * * loose me, may obstinacy of the mouth be cast to the winds!

May the mashtakal herb, of which the earth is full, make me clean!
May * * * of which the grain is full, loose me!
In your presence will I shine like the * * * herb,
I shall be pure and clean like the lardu herb.
The incantation of the sorceress is evil:
Her words shall return to her mouth, her tongue shall be cut out;
Because of her sorcery may the gods of the night smite her!
May the three night-watches loose her evil witchcraft!
May her mouth be wax, her tongue honey!
May the word harmful to me which she has spoken melt away like wax!
May the sorcery which she has used be dissolved like honey!
Her knots are cut in two, her work is destroyed.
The field is full of her words,
According to the command which the gods of the night have given. Pronounce the incantation.

Incantation. O earth, earth, earth,
Gilgamesh is the lord of your ban.
Whatever ye do, I know;
What I do, ye do not know.
Whatever evil my sorceresses have done is broken, loosed, and is not. Pronounce the incantation.

Incantation. My city is Çappan, my city is Çappan.
Two are the doors of my city Çappan,
The first toward the rising of the sun, the second toward the setting of the sun,
The first toward the rising of the sun, the second toward the setting of the sun.
I carry a box, a jar, and mashtakal herb,
I bring water to the gods of the heavens.
As I perform cleansing for you,
Do ye cleanse me! Pronounce the incantation.

Incantation. I have cut off the ford, I have blocked up the wall,
I have prevented the enchantment of the whole world.
The god and the goddess have commissioned me:
"Whom shall I send to Belit of the field?"
In the mouth of my sorcerer and my sorceress thrust a gag,
Thrust the incantation of the leader of the gods, Marduk!
Though they call to thee, do not answer them,
Though they speak with thee, do not hearken unto them!
I will call to thee; answer me!
I will speak with thee; hearken unto me!
According to the command which the god, the goddess, and Belit of the field have given. Pronounce the incantation.

Incantation. These images of my enchanter,
These images of my witch,
Of my sorcerer (and) my sorceress,
Of my enchanter (and) my enchantress,
Of my male deceiver (and) my female deceiver,
Of the master of my destruction and the mistress of my destruction,
Of the master of my oppression and the mistress of my oppression,
Of the master of my adversity and the mistress of my adversity,
Of the master of my persecution and the mistress of my persecution,
Of the master of my judgment and the mistress of my judgment,
Of the master of my speech and the mistress of my speech,
Of the master of my planning and the mistress of my planning,
Of the master of my thinking and the mistress of my thinking,
Of the master of my hurt and the mistress of my hurt,
As many as there are of them, I know them not.

Sorcery, witchcraft, bewitchment, wily tricks (?),
Enchantment, rebellion, harmful words, love, hate,
Deceit, rapine, * * *
* * *, madness,
* * * * * *
* * * these, their images
* * * they stand, their images I raise.
Fire-god, judge, conqueror of the wicked and the enemy,
conquer them and I shall not be destroyed!
They have made images of me, similar to my images, imitating my likeness,
They have seized me * * *, they have shaken my neck,
They have gone forth against my * * *, they have bent my spine,
They have weakened my * * *, they have taken away the courage from my heart,
They have roused up the gods against me, they have made my strength weakness,
* * *, they have bound my knees.
They have filled me with * * * and uncleanness.
They have made me to eat * * *
They have made me to drink * * *
They have poured over me unclean (water),
They have anointed me with an ointment of noisome herbs,
They have taken me for a corpse,
The water of my life they have cast into the grave,
They have enraged gods, kings, lords, and princes against me.
Thou, O Fire-god, who burns the sorcerer and the sorceress,
Who extirpates the bad, the seed of sorcerer and sorceress,
Thou art the destroyer of the wicked.
To thee I call as to Shamash the judge:
Pronounce my judgment, determine my fate,
Burn the sorcerer and the sorceress,
Devour my enemies, destroy my foes,
May the fearful day overtake them!
Like water in a skin may they perish by being poured out,

Like the cutting of stones, may their fingers be cut off!
According to thy exalted command which changes not,
And thy sure mercy which swerves not. Pronounce the incantation.

Incantation. Nusku, great god, offspring of Anu,
Likeness of his father, first-born of Bel,
Product of the deep, creation of Ea,
I raise the torch to give thee light, even thee.
The sorcerer has charmed me. With the witchcraft with which he has charmed me do thou charm him.
The sorceress has charmed me. With the witchcraft with which she has charmed me do thou charm her.
The enchanter has bewitched me. With the witchery with which he has bewitched me do thou bewitch him.
The witch has bewitched me. With the witchery with which she has bewitched me do thou bewitch her.
The enchantress has bewitched me. With the witchery with which she has bewitched me do thou bewitch her.
As for those who have made images of me, similar to my images, imitating my likeness,
Who have taken away my breath, who have torn out my hair,
Who have rent my garments, who in anger have hindered my feet from walking in the dust,
May the warlike Fire-god remove their incantation! Pronounce the incantation.

Incantation. I raise the torch, I burn their images,
The images of the demon, the evil spirit, the spook, the spectre,
The female oppressor, the ghost, the vampire,
The male demon of the night, the female demon of the night, the maid demon of the night,
And any evil which seizes a man,
Totter, melt, and vanish!

May your smoke ascend to heaven,
May Shamash destroy the members of your body,
May the child of Ea, the conjurer, cut off your life (?)!
Pronounce the incantation.

SECOND TABLET

Incantation. Nusku, great god, counsellor of the great gods,
Guardian of the free-will offerings of all the Igigi,
Founder of cities, renewer of shrines,
Brilliant day, whose command is supreme,
Messenger of Anu, who gives ear to the decrees of Bel,
Who is obedient to Bel the counsellor, mountain of the Igigi,
Powerful in battle, whose onset is fierce,
Nusku, fiery, who strikes with lightning the foes;
Without thee no table is prepared in the temple,
Without thee the great gods do not smell the savour,
Without thee the judge does not pronounce judgment.
* * * * * * * * * *
I, thy servant So-and-so, the son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-so, and whose goddess is So-and-so,
I turn to thee, I seek thee, lifting up my hands to thee, and bowing at thy feet.
Burn the sorcerer and the sorceress.
As for my sorcerer and my sorceress (?), may their life be destroyed!
As for me, grant me life that I may make thy heart glad, and that I may humbly serve thee!

Pronounce the incantation in a whisper in the presence of an image of wax.

Incantation. O Fire-god, fiery, first-born of Anu,
Thou art he who pronounces my judgment and proclaims my fate,
Thou makest light the darkness,
Thou bringest order into confusion and disorder,

To the great gods thou givest power to determine fate,
No god has the power to determine fate like thee,
Thou art he who gives commands and behests.

[Several lines missing.]

Now in the presence of thy great divinity,
With my hand have I made of bronze the images of the sorcerer and the sorceress,
Before thee have I placed them and given them into thy charge.
Let them die, but let me live,
Let them be under a ban, but let me prosper,
Let them perish, but let me increase,
Let them become weak, but let me wax strong.
O Fire-god, mighty, lofty among the gods,
Conqueror of the wicked and the enemy, conquer them and I shall not be destroyed.
May I, thy servant, live, may I remain secure, may I stand in thy presence!
Thou art my god, thou art my lord,
Thou art my judge, thou art my helper,
Thou art my avenger. Pronounce the incantation.
Pronounce the incantation in a whisper in the presence of an image of bronze.

Incantation. O Fire-god, fiery, mighty son of Anu,
Strongest among thy brethren art thou,
Who givest judgment like Sin and Shamash.
Pronounce my judgment, determine my fate,
Burn the sorcerer and the sorceress.
O Fire-god, burn the sorcerer and the sorceress!
O Fire-god, roast the sorcerer and the sorceress!
O Fire-god, burn them!
O Fire-god, roast them!
O Fire-god, overpower them!
O Fire-god, destroy them!
O Fire-god, carry them away!
As for those who practise evil sorcery and noxious witchcraft,

Who have devised evil against me,
Cause a strong one to take away their possessions,
Deprive them of their property, and
Cause the spoiler to lie down in their encampments.
O Fire-god, strong, perfect, mighty,
In the temple, the place of thy retreat (?) how long?
At the sacrifice of Ea, thy begetter, * * * the brilliant god,
Who * * * . Pronounce the incantation.

Pronounce the incantation in a whisper in the presence of an image of honey.

Incantation. O Fire-god, strong, threatening day,
Thou directest gods and kings,
Thou pronouncest judgment upon the bad man and the bad woman;
Stand for my cause like Shamash, the warrior,
Pronounce my judgment, determine my fate,
Burn the sorcerer and the sorceress,
Devour my enemies, destroy my foes,
May thy fearful day overtake them! Pronounce the incantation.

Pronounce the incantation in a whisper in the presence of an image of clay.

Incantation. O Fire-god, powerful, first-born of Anu,
Bright, lofty offspring of Shalash,
Powerful, brilliant, eternal name among the gods,
Giver of free-will offerings to the gods, the Igigi,
Creator of light for the Anunnaki, the great gods.
O mighty Fire-god, who devastates * * * ,
O Fire-god, full of strength, who destroys the cunning and the godless,
Who burns the wicked, the seed of sorcerer and sorceress,
Who extirpates the bad, the seed of sorcerer and sorceress,
On this day stand for my cause, and
Overpower the wicked who bring about rebellion and sedition.

As these images totter, melt away, and disappear,
So may the sorcerer and the sorceress totter, melt away, and disappear!

Pronounce the incantation in a whisper in the presence of an image of bitumen.

Incantation. They have used all kinds of charms,
To entwine me as with a rope,
To overpower me as with a net,
To bind me as with a cord,
To catch me as with a trap,
To lasso me as with a noose,
To tear me down as a building,
To fill me as with dirty water from walls,
To treat me as the razing of a wall.
But I, at the command of Marduk, the lord of the festival,
And Marduk, the lord of the incantation,
The enchanter and the witch
As with a rope will I entwine them,
As with a net will I overpower them,
As with a cord will I bind them,
As with a trap will I catch them,
As with a noose will I lasso them,
As a building will I tear them down,
As with dirty water from walls will I fill them,
As the razing of a wall will I treat them,
* * * thy * * * the image of the sorcerer and the sorceress.

Pronounce the incantation in a whisper in the presence of an image of bitumen over which gypsum is poured.

COLOPHON

The second tablet of the "Maqlu Series,"
Written according to the original, new and revised (edition),
Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, King of Assyria, who puts his trust in Ashur and Belit,

To whom Nabu and Tashmetu have given a liberal understanding (literally, broad ears),
Who possesses a clear eye, (and) the noble art of tablet-writing,
Such as no one of the kings my predecessors had acquired.
The wisdom of Nabu * * * as much as there was
On tablets I have inscribed, edited, revised, and
For my inspection and reading
Placed in my palace,
Even I, the lord, who knows the light of the king of the gods, Ashur.
Whoever carries it away, or with my name inscribes his own name,
May Ashur and Belit in anger and wrath overthrow him, and
Destroy his name and seed out of the land!

THIRD TABLET

Incantation. Who art thou, sorceress, in whose heart
Dwells the word unfriendly to me,
By whose tongue my enchantment is produced,
By whose lips my bewitchment is produced,
In whose footsteps death follows?
Sorceress, I put thy mouth under a ban, I put thy tongue under a ban,
I put thy wandering eyes under a ban,
I put thy ever-moving feet under a ban,
I put thy restless knees under a ban,
I put thy outstretched hands under a ban,
I bind thy hands behind thee.
May Sin destroy the front part (?) of thy body!
May he cast thee into an abyss of water and fire!
Sorceress, like the circle of this seal,
May thy face grow pale and wan!

THE SHURPU SERIES

SECOND TABLET

HAS he set a son at variance with a father,
A father with a son,
A daughter with a mother,
A mother with a daughter,
A daughter-in-law with a mother-in-law,
A mother-in-law with a daughter-in-law,
A brother with a brother,
A friend with a friend,
A companion with a companion?
Has he failed to loose the prisoner or to free the captive?
Has he failed to permit him who is in prison to see the light?
Has he said to the prisoner, "Seize him," or to him who is in bonds, "Bind him"?
Is it perhaps a sin against a god, or a transgression against a goddess?
Has he vexed a god, or despised a goddess?
Is his offence against his god, or his crime against his goddess?
Is it violence against ancestors, or hate against elder brothers?
Has he despised father or mother, or insulted an elder sister?
Has he given in little things, and refused in great things?
For No said Yes,
For Yes said No?
Has he spoken the unfit or the rebellious word?
Has he spoken the coarse word?
Has he used false weights?
Has he taken money gained unjustly, or refused to take money justly gained?
Has he disinherited a legitimate son, or recognised an illegitimate son?

Has he set up the wrong landmark, or failed to set up the right landmark?
Has he removed a dividing-line, a boundary, or a landmark?
Has he entered his neighbour's house?
Has he approached his neighbour's wife?
Has he shed his neighbour's blood?
Has he taken away his neighbour's garment?
Has he failed to release a man through anger?
Has he driven an honest man away from his home?
Has he broken up a united family?
Has he taken stand against a superior?
Is his mouth straightforward, but his heart false?
Does his mouth consent, but his heart deny?
Is it because of the many unjust things which he plans,
That he dogs (?) justice and casts it off (?),
And destroys it, and drives it out, and brings it to naught,
And * * *
And does violence, and robs, and lets be robbed,
And puts his hand to evil?
Is his mouth loose or filthy?
Are his lips deceitful (?) or rebellious?
Has he taught that which is unfit, or instructed in that which is unseemly?
Has he followed after evil?
Has he overstepped the bounds of right?
Has he done that which is not clean?
Has he put his hand to sorcery or witchcraft?
Is it because of the grave misdeed which he has done?
Or because of the many sins which he has committed?
Or because of the unions which he has broken up?
Or because of the well-drilled army which he has disorganized?
Or because of anything wherein he has despised his god or his goddess?
Has he promised with his heart and mouth, but not fulfilled?
Has he despised the name of his god by his gift?

Has he consecrated or dedicated (?) anything, but kept it back?
Has he given something * * *, but eaten it?
Has he * * *
Has he cut off the accustomed food-offering (literally, dish)?
Has he incurred the wrath of his god or goddess?
Has he stood up in an assembly and spoken words which were not meet?
May he be loosed from whatever bans him!
Whether banned by that which he has taken,
Or banned by fright,
Or banned by a gift which he has made,
Or banned by any living being,
Or whether he pointed with his finger to a form,
Or banned by the form of father or mother,
Or banned by the form of elder brother or elder sister,
Or banned by the form of friend or companion,
Or banned by the form of god or king,
Or banned by the form of lord or lady,
Whether he has brought about destruction,
Or has gone about bent on destruction,
Or has committed a misdeed against his city,
Or has given out reports against his city,
Or has disgraced the reputation of his city,
Or has touched a banned one,
Or a banned one has touched him,
Or has slept in the bed of a banned one,
Or has set upon the seat of a banned one,
Or has eaten at the table of a banned one,
Or has drunk from the cup of a banned one:
He searches, he searches.
In the bed he searches,
On the seat he searches,
On the table he searches,
In the passing (?) of the cup he searches,
In the glowing fire-pan he searches,
In the torch he searches,

In the bellows he searches,
On the tablet and the stylus he searches,
In the iç.BAR and the iç.KA he searches,
In the stalls he searches,
Among the animals he searches,
Among the water-buckets he searches,
In the wells he searches,
In the streams he searches,
In the ships * * * he searches,
In the rising and the setting of the sun he searches,
In the gods of the heavens, and the shrines of earth he searches,
In the shrine of lord and lady he searches,
In going out of the city and entering the city he searches,
In going out of the city-gate and entering the city-gate he searches,
In going out of the house and entering the house he searches,
In the street he searches,
In the god's house he searches,
In the road he searches.
O Shamash, judge, may he be loosed.
Loose, Shamash, lord above and lord below,
Who leads aright the gods, the king of countries art thou.
May the right be established by thy word.
May he set up his * * * in thy presence.
Loose, conjurer among the gods, merciful lord, Marduk.
Loose, god of the householder. Loose, god of the sinner.
Loose, god of the transgressor.
Loose, Nergal, lord of deliverance,
Loose ye, Shuqamuna and Shimaliya,
Loose ye, great gods, as many as there are of you,
Loose, fire-pan, child of Ea,
May lord and lady loose,
May Anu and Anatu loose,
May Bel loose, the king, the creator of all that is,
May Belit loose, the Queen of Ekiur,
May Ekiur loose, the temple of the spouse,

May Enki loose, may Ninki loose,
May Enshar loose, may Ninshar loose,
May Ea loose, the king of the deep,
May the deep loose, the house of wisdom,
May Eridu loose, may the house of the deep loose,
May Marduk loose, the king of the Igigi,
May Çarpanit loose, the Queen of Esagila,
May Esagila and Babylon loose,
The dwelling-place of the great gods,
May Nabu and Nana in Ezida loose,
May Tashmetu loose, the great bride,
May Dayyanu loose, the chief (?) of Esagila,
May Iqbi-dunqi loose, the bestower of favours,
May Durilu and Edimgalkalama loose,
May Rabu and Diritu loose,
May Enshushinak and Lahuramit loose in Susa,
May Yabru and Humban, the king, loose,
The mighty gods,
The stars of the south, the north, the east, and the west,
May the four winds blow, may they loose his ban,
May Ishtar loose in strong-walled Erech,
May Nin-Eanna loose in Eanna, her sanctuary,
May Anunitu loose in Agade, the city of delight,
May Agade loose, may Eulbar loose,
May Ishhara loose, the mistress of habitations,
May Shiduri loose, the goddess of wisdom,
The spirit who protects life,
May Girra, the great Girra, the mighty Girra loose,
May Laz, Hani, and GAL.HUSH.A loose,
May Lugal-edina, Latarak, and
Sharrahu loose,
May DUN and Shamash loose by their name,
May TI.BAL, Sakkut, Kewan,
And Immeriya loose,
May the bow-star, the spear-star, the lance-star, Mushta-
barru-mutanu,
And Narudu loose,
May Pasagga, the star of Sibzianna, loose,

May god and goddess, as many as there are of them,
On this day take their stand, and
As for So-and-so, the son of So-and-so, * * *
His sins, his transgressions,
His * * * his bans,
* * * * *
May they blot out, and loose,
May they drive away his ban! End of the incantation.

COLOPHON

Incantation. A ban of any sort which befalls any one who is a child of a god,
Marduk, the conjurer among the gods, will loose.
The second tablet of the "Shurpu Series."
Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, King of Assyria,
Who puts his trust in Ashur and Belit,
To whom Nabu and Tashmetu have given a liberal understanding (literally, broad ears),
Who possesses a clear eye,
(And) the noble art of tablet-writing,
An art of such a sort
As no one of the kings my predecessors had acquired.
The wisdom of Nabu * * * as much as there was
On tablets I have inscribed * * *
For my inspection and reading
I have placed them in my palace,
Even I, the lord, who knows the light of the king of the gods, Ashur.
Whoever carries it away, or his own name
Inscribes with my name,
May Ashur and Belit in anger and wrath
Overthrow him and destroy his name and seed out of the land!

THIRD TABLET

A ban of any sort which befalls any one who is a child of a god,
Marduk, the conjurer among the gods, will loose.

A ban from father or mother which befalls a man	he will loose.
A ban from grandfather or grandmother	he will loose.
A ban from brother or sister	he will loose.
A ban from seven descendants of the father's house which befalls a man	he will loose.
A ban from old or young	he will loose.
A ban from family or relatives	he will loose.
A ban from babes or sucklings	he will loose.
A ban from comrade or companion	he will loose.
A ban from friend or fellow	he will loose.
A ban from right or wrong	he will loose.
A ban from honour or shame	he will loose.
A ban from * * * and swearing by the god	he will loose.
A ban from bellows or fire-pan	he will loose.
A ban from pointing the hand toward the fire (?)	he will loose.
A ban from taking fire and swearing by the god	he will loose.
A ban from throwing fire at any one	he will loose.
A ban from cup or table	he will loose.
A ban from bed or couch	he will loose.
A ban from drinking water out of an unclean cup	he will loose.
A ban from demanding rather than paying a debt	he will loose.
A ban from sitting in a seat before the sun	he will loose.
A ban from giving judgment for a bribe	he will loose.
A ban from pulling up plants in the field	he will loose.
A ban from cutting down reeds in the marsh	he will loose.
A ban from bow or chariot	he will loose.
A ban from bronze dagger or spear	he will loose.
A ban from lance or crossbow	he will loose.
A ban from slaying the young of wild animals	he will loose.
A ban from destroying an offering (?) or casting an alms (?) into the water	he will loose.
A ban from setting a * * * before any one	he will loose.

A ban from food (?) or drink (?) * * *	he will loose.
A ban from coming upon (?) a friend (?) and killing him	he will loose.
A ban from slaughtering a sheep or his * * *	he will loose.
A ban from * * *	he will loose.
A ban from * * *	he will loose.
A ban from refusing the request for one day's water supply	he will loose.
A ban from refusing the request for water privileges	he will loose.
A ban from tearing up plants in the field	he will loose.
A ban from taking a water-bucket and swearing by the god	he will loose.
A ban from making a demand upon any one in the stalls or among the animals	he will loose.
A ban from conjuring by the sun when it rises	he will loose.
A ban from swearing by the god with unclean hands	he will loose.
A ban from protecting spirit or bull-colossus	he will loose.
A ban from tamarisk or date-palm	he will loose.
A ban from well or river	he will loose.
A ban from wall or ford	he will loose.
A ban from * * * or bridge	he will loose.
A ban from * * * which befalls a man	he will loose.
A ban from consenting and then refusing	he will loose.
A ban from entering the precincts of a god	he will loose.
A ban from damming up a neighbour's canal	he will loose.
A ban from eating the flesh of sacrifices	he will loose.
A ban from being hostile to an enemy rather than becoming friendly to him	he will loose.
A ban from fixing a dividing-line or boundary	he will loose.
A ban from destroying a chariot or its * * *	he will loose.
A ban from drinking water out of a bowl (?)	he will loose.
A ban from * * * in a river or spitting in a river	he will loose.

A ban from * * * and river * * * he will loose.
A ban from mountain or ravine he will loose.
A ban from hill or wady he will loose.
A ban from pass or * * * he will loose.
A ban from * * * he will loose.
A ban from * * * a reed with a cord he will loose.
A ban from * * * door and bolt he will loose.
A ban from raising a weapon in a crowd he will loose.
A ban from * * * Ninib * * * he will loose.
A ban from shrine or sanctuary he will loose.

[Many broken lines follow.]

A ban from entering a magical circle before the sun he will loose.
A ban from a banned one's touching any one he will loose.
A ban from a banned one's stretching his hand to god or goddess he will loose.
A ban from speaking with a banned one he will loose.
A ban from eating the food of a banned one he will loose.
A ban from drinking the water of a banned one he will loose.
A ban from drinking the lees of a banned one he will loose.
A ban from speaking with a sinner he will loose.
A ban from eating the food of a sinner he will loose.
A ban from drinking the water of a sinner he will loose.
A ban from drinking the lees of a sinner he will loose.
A ban from making intercession for a sinner he will loose.
A ban from exalting * * *
A ban from humbling * * *
A ban from transgression or demoniacal possession he will loose.
A ban from committing an error he will loose.
A ban from sin or misdeed he will loose.
A ban from rebellion or sedition he will loose.
A ban from fire or fire-pan he will loose.
A ban from * * * or Euphrates he will loose.
A ban from * * * or assembly he will loose.

A ban from dead or living he will loose.
A ban from male or female destroyer he will loose.
A ban from known or unknown he will loose.
A ban from Anu or Anatu he will loose.
A ban from Bel or Belit he will loose.
A ban from Ea or Damkina he will loose.
A ban from Sin or Ningal he will loose.
A ban from Shamash or A-a he will loose.
A ban from Ramman or Shala he will loose.
A ban from Marduk or Çarpanit he will loose.
A ban from Nabu or Tashmetu he will loose.
A ban from Ninib or Belit-Nippur he will loose.
A ban from * * * or Gula he will loose.
A ban from * * * or Bau he will loose.

[The few remaining lines are mutilated.]

FIFTH AND SIXTH TABLETS

Incantation. An evil curse like a demon has fallen upon a man,
A pain-giving voice has fallen upon him,
A voice that bodes no good has fallen upon him.
An evil curse, a ban, disease!
An evil curse has slaughtered that man like a sheep,
His god has departed from his body.
His goddess, accustomed to care for him, has taken her place outside (his body),
A pain-giving voice like a garment has covered him and overpowered him.
Marduk looked with favour upon him, and
Went into the house to his father Ea, and spoke:
"My father, an evil curse like a demon has fallen upon a man."
The second time he spoke:
"I know not what that man has done, or how he can be cured."
Ea answered his son Marduk:
"My son, what more can I tell thee that thou dost not know?

Marduk, what can I add that thou dost not know?
What I know thou also knowest.
Go, my son Marduk,
Bring him to the house of pure libations.
Release his ban, and loose his ban."
As for the disturbing ailment of his body,
Be it the curse of his father,
Or the curse of his mother,
Or the curse of his elder brother,
Or the curse of an unknown murderess,
May the ban by the incantation of Ea
Be peeled off like an onion,
May it be cut off like a date,
May it be torn off like a husk,
Ban! By heaven be thou invoked, by earth be thou invoked!

Incantation. As this onion is peeled off and thrown into the fire,
And the burning Flame consumes it,
And it is not planted in a garden,
And it is not cultivated by ditches or canals,
And it does not take root in the earth,
And its stalk does not grow, and it does not see the sun,
And it does not come upon the table of god or king,
So, the oath, the ban, the pain, the misery,
The disease, the sickness, the trespass, the misdeed, the crime, the sin,
The disease which dwells in my body, my flesh, (and) my joints,
May they be peeled off like this onion, and
On this day may the devouring Flame consume them,
May the ban depart and may I see the light!

Incantation. As this date is cut off and thrown into the fire,
And the burning Flame consumes it,
And it does not return to the bare branch,

And it does not come upon the table of god or king,
So, the oath, the ban, the pain, the misery,
The disease, the sickness, the trespass, the misdeed, the crime, the sin,
The disease which dwells in my body, my flesh, (and) my joints,
May they be cut off like this date, and
On this day may the devouring Flame consume them,
May the ban depart and may I see the light!

Incantation. As this husk is torn off and thrown into the fire,
And the burning Flame consumes it,
And its blossom (?) does not return to its palm-tree,
And it is not used for colouring cloth,
So, the oath, the ban, the pain, the misery,
The disease, the sickness, the trespass, the misdeed, the crime, the sin,
The disease which dwells in my body, my flesh, (and) my joints,
May they be torn off like this husk, and
On this day may the devouring Flame consume them,
May the ban depart and may I see the light!

Incantation. As this sheep-skin is pulled off and thrown into the fire,
And the burning Flame consumes it,
And it does not return to its sheep,
And it is not used as a garment for god or king,
So, the oath, the ban, the pain, the misery,
The disease, the sickness, the trespass, the misdeed, the crime, the sin,
The disease which dwells in my body, my flesh, (and) my joints,
May they be pulled off like this sheep-skin, and
On this day may the devouring Flame consume them,
May the ban depart and may I see the light!

Incantation. As this goat-skin is pulled off and thrown into the fire,
And the burning Flame consumes it,
And it does not return to its goat,
And it is no longer dyed,
So, the oath, the ban, the pain, the misery,
The disease, the sickness, the trespass, the misdeed, the crime, the sin,
The disease which dwells in my body, my flesh, (and) my joints,
May they be pulled off like this goat-skin, and
On this day may the devouring Flame consume them,
May the ban depart and may I see the light!

Incantation. As this wool is pulled off and thrown into the fire,
And the burning Flame consumes it,
And the weaver does not weave it into a garment,
And it is not used as raiment for god or king,
So, the oath, the ban, the pain, the misery,
The disease, the sickness, the trespass, the misdeed, the crime, the sin,
The disease which dwells in my body, my flesh, (and) my joints,
May they be pulled off like this wool, and
On this day may the devouring Flame consume them,
May the ban depart and may I see the light!

Incantation. With upuntu seed my hands are filled,
With heat, fever (and) chills my hands are filled,
With oath and ban my hands are filled,
With pain and misery my hands are filled,
With disease, sickness, trespass, misdeed, crime, sin, my hands are filled,
With ills of mind and ills of body my hands are filled,
With enchantment, apparition, bewitchment, and evil witchcraft my hands are filled.

As this upuntu seed is burned in the fire,
And the farmer does not sow it in the field,
And it is not cultivated by ditches or canals,
And it does not take root in the earth,
And its stalk does not grow, and it does not see the sun,
So may its ban not grow up in my heart,
May its root not take hold of my back,
May its stalk not bear down upon my breast,
So, the oath, the ban, the pain, the misery,
The disease, the sickness, the trespass, the misdeed, the crime, the sin,
The disease which dwells in my body, my flesh, (and) my joints,
May they be burned like this upuntu seed, and
On this day may the devouring Flame consume them,
May the ban depart and may I see the light!

Incantation. He turned his steps toward the temple-women.
Ishtar directed her temple-women.
She set a clever woman upon a couch.
Of white wool (and) of black wool she spun on the wheel a double thread,
A beautiful thread, a strong thread, a thread of many colours, a thread which breaks the ban in two,
Against the men who conjure an evil ban,
Against the curses of the gods,
A thread which breaks the ban in two.
The head of that man, his hands, his feet he bound,
Marduk, the princely son of Eridu, cut it with his holy hands.
Let him bring the thread of the ban into the field to the holy place,
Let the evil ban stand aside,
Let that man be pure and clean,
Let him surrender himself into the gracious hands of his god.

Incantation for the loosing of bans.

Incantation. I, the high priest, kindle the fire,
I kindle the coals, I cast in the lot,
The holy priest of Ea, the messenger of Marduk am I.
The coals which I kindled I put out,
The fire which I lighted I smother,
The grain which I heaped up (i. e., on the coals) I stamp out.
As I put out the coals which I kindled,
And smother the fire which I lighted,
And stamp out the grain which I heaped up,
So may Siris, who frees both god and man,
Loose the knot which he has tied!
May the knot of the heart of his god and of his goddess be unloosed for him—namely, So-and-so, the son of So-and-so.
On this day may his sin be forgiven,
May it be destroyed from him, may it be loosed from him!

Incantation. Peace, O warlike Fire-god,
May the mountains and the streams be at rest with thee,
May the Tigris and the Euphrates be at rest with thee,
May the broad sea of seas be at rest with thee,
May the street, the daughter of the great gods, be at rest with thee,
May the kikal plant, the product of the herb, be at rest with thee,
May the heart of my angry god and of my angry goddess be at rest with thee,
May the heart of the angry god of my city and of the angry goddess of my city be at rest with thee,
On this day may the knot of the heart of my god and of my goddess be loosed,
And may the ban go forth from my body!
Because thou judgest by thy light,
And avengest by thy sword,
Pronounce my judgment, determine my career.

COLOPHON

Incantation. Dimetu has arisen from the depths of the sea.[1]
The sixth tablet of the "Shurpu Series."
Copied from the original, and * * *
Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world,
King of Assyria.

SEVENTH TABLET

Incantation. Dimetu has arisen from the depths of the sea,
The ban has come down out of the heavens,
The evil spirits like grass have covered (?) the earth,
To the four winds they spread brilliancy like fire, they send forth flames,
The people living in dwellings they torment, their bodies they afflict,
In city and country they bring moaning, small and great they make to lament,
Man and woman they put in bonds, and fill with cries of woe,
In heaven and on earth like a tempest they rain, they rush on in pursuit,
Where the anger of the god is, thither they flee, crying aloud.
A man from whom his god has departed, they fall upon, and cover him like a garment,
They break loose upon him, and fill him with poison,
His hands they tie, his feet they bind,
His sides they crush, they sprinkle him with gall.
With oath and ban his body is afflicted,
With want of breath (?) and coughing (?) his breast is weakened,
With froth and foam his mouth is filled,
Upon that man a cry of pain has settled, he is completely undone,
Night and day he runs about, he can not sleep for pain.

[1] This is the catch-line to the seventh tablet of the series.

Marduk looked with favour upon him, and
Entered into the house to his father Ea, and spoke:
"My father, Dimetu has arisen from the depths of the sea."
The second time he spoke:
"I know not what that man has done or how he can be cured."
Ea answered his son Marduk:
"My son, what more can I tell thee that thou dost not know?
Marduk, what can I add that thou dost not know?
What I know thou also knowest.
Go, my son, Marduk."

[The next twenty lines are missing.]

* * * mistress of the field and the high-place,
May Nikilite (?), lord of all creatures, transfer his severe suffering to the swarming life of the earth,
May Damu, the great conjurer, make him of good spirits,
May Gula, the lady, who brings the dead to life,
Heal him by the caress of her fair hand!
And do thou, Marduk, merciful lord, who lovest to bring the dead to life,
Loose his ban by thy pure art of conjuring the living.
May the man, the child of his god, be pure and bright and shining,
May he be washed like a vessel * * *
May he be cleansed like a vessel of curds!
To Shamash, the chief of the gods, commend him.
May Shamash, the chief of the gods, commend him safe and sound into the kindly hands of his god!

A RITUAL TABLET

[The first twenty-eight lines are too broken to translate.]

ON a favourable day thou shalt consecrate thyself * * *
Thou shalt put on a clean garment.
Before the setting of the sun there shall be * * *
An offering for Gula, of pure water, pure * * *
Unleavened bread made of wheat, twelve of each, and twelve times three, or thirty-six in all, thou shalt prepare.
Thou shalt add * * * and salt, sprinkle a young ram,
Strew the censer with cypress twigs and fine flour, and pour over it sesame wine.
If the flesh of this young ram and the * * * is without blemish,
* * * at thy right hand,
Then shall the seer arise and go before the * * *
From the hide of the young ram (thou shalt make) a leather cup (?) for the cedar roots (?), a young ram thou shalt prepare,
Before Gula the leather cup * * * wine thou shalt present.
After the stars of the heaven have appeared (?),
Thou shalt prepare three tables for Anu, Bel, and Ea,
On each table, twenty-four loaves of unleavened bread made of wheat,
Three times twenty-four loaves thou shalt prepare,
As the unleavened bread for the three tables.

Ten measures of honey and curds mixed, oil, oil of balsam, dates * * *
Wine, to the amount of thirteen qa, shalt thou add to the unleavened bread;
A measure of * * * seed,
* * * flesh * * * four in number,
Four jugs of sesame wine to the amount of one qa thou shalt place thereon,
A cask, containing a measure of sesame wine, thou shalt place thereon, ten pure young rams * * *
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, the shume flesh, and the silqu flesh shalt thou bring,
Thou shalt strew the three censers with cypress and cedar roots and upuntu, and pour over them sesame wine.
Thereupon thou shalt prostrate thyself, and then thou shalt clear away the offering.
At the rising of * * *, thou shalt set up an offering (?), sprinkle pure water,
Set up one censer toward the east before Marduk,
One censer toward the east before the protecting god,
One censer toward the east before the protecting goddess.
Thou shalt set up a table behind the censer which stands before Marduk,
Place thereon four jugs of sesame wine,
Set thereon three times twelve loaves made of wheat,
Add a mixture of honey and curds and sprinkle with salt.
Thou shalt set up a table behind the censer which stands before the protecting god,
And do as before.
Thou shalt set up a table behind the censer which stands before the protecting goddess,
And do as before.
The first censer which is before Marduk thou shalt strew (i. e., with cypress and cedar roots, etc.),
Thou shalt take the hand of the sacrificer and speak thus:
"May thy servant, So-and-so, offer a sacrifice in the morning,

May he raise the staff of cedar, and stand in the presence of Shamash!
May thy great divinity be well pleased with reference to this sheep,
All of whose flesh is unblemished, whose appearances are auspicious."
Thereupon thou shalt offer the sacrifice;
He (i. e., the sacrificer) shall hold the sheep, and thou shalt perform the sprinklings,
Making a step toward the slaughtered animal.
The second censer, which stands before the protecting god, thou shalt strew,
And do as before.
The third censer, which stands before the protecting goddess, thou shalt strew,
And do as before.
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, and the shume flesh thou shalt wash in the bason, sprinkle salt thereon,
Lay upon the table of Marduk, light the censer,
And make a step toward the censer.
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, and the shume flesh thou shalt wash in the bason, sprinkle salt thereon,
Lay upon the table of the protecting god, light the censer,
And make a step toward the censer.
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, and the shume flesh thou shalt wash in the bason, sprinkle salt thereon,
Lay upon the table of the protecting goddess, light the censer,
And make a step toward the censer.
The sacrificer shall raise his hand, pray, prostrate himself,
Clear away the table which stands before the goddess,
Pour out the sesame wine which stands upon the table,
Take away the censer, and prostrate himself.
The sacrificer shall raise his hand, pray, prostrate himself,
Clear away the table which stands before the protecting god,
And do as before.
The sacrificer shall raise his hand, pray, prostrate himself,
Clear away the table which stands before Marduk,

And do as before.
Thou shalt perform sprinklings * * * set down the bason,
Prostrate thyself (?), and kneel (?).
As soon as the horizon of the heaven is overcast with darkness, thou shalt bring on three tables,
Prepare them like those for Anu, Bel, and Ea,
The middle table for Shamash and Ramman, the gods, the lords of the oracle,
The left table for A-a, his (i. e., Shamash) beloved spouse,
The right table for Bu-ne-ne, the messenger of Shamash and A-a;
Four clean young rams, two for Shamash and Ramman,
One for A-a, his beloved spouse,
One for Bu-ne-ne, the messenger of Shamash and A-a.
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, the shume flesh, and the silqu flesh thou shalt bring,
Thou shalt strew the three censers with cypress and cedar roots and upuntu,
Pour out sesame wine, and prostrate thyself.
A liver from the middle table, which belongs to Shamash and Ramman, shall be geomanced (?).
If the flesh of this young ram and the * * * is without blemish,
* * * at thy right hand,
Thou shalt sacrifice a lamb to the protecting god, pour out a drink-offering, and
Place it at the left of the offering, (crying), "Shamash and Ramman, great gods!"
The seer shall place the divining-cup in position. Without gift or present
The seer shall not approach the place of judgment.
Nor shall he raise the staff of cedar, (else) they (i. e., the gods) will not announce to him the secret verdict.
The oil-diviner, the seer, shall cause him (i. e., the sacrificer) to raise the staff of cedar,

And shake water upon the oil. If the first gab (i. e., probably a certain part of the liver) is without blemish, the second gab without blemish, and the third gab without blemish,
Then shall the seer set himself before Shamash and Ramman upon the judgment seat,
And give a true and righteous judgment.
Then will Shamash and Ramman, the great gods, the lords of the oracle,
The lords of the decision, stand up for him,
Make a decision for him, and answer him with true grace.

Before the rising of the sun thou shalt prepare one offering for Shamash:
One censer thou shalt place before Shamash,
One censer thou shalt place before Ramman,
One censer thou shalt place before Marduk,
One censer thou shalt place before A-a,
One censer thou shalt place before Bu-ne-ne,
One censer thou shalt place before Kettu,
One censer thou shalt place before Mesharu,
One censer thou shalt place before the protecting god.
A table thou shalt place behind the censer which is before Shamash,
Thou shalt place thereon four jugs of sesame wine,
Thou shalt set thereon three times twelve loaves made of wheat,
Thou shalt add a mixture of honey and curds, and sprinkle with salt.
A table thou shalt place behind the censer which is before Ramman,
A table thou shalt place behind the censer which is before Marduk,
A table thou shalt place behind the censer which is before A-a,
A table thou shalt place behind the censer which is before Bu-ne-ne,

A table thou shalt place behind the censer which is before Kettu,
A table thou shalt place behind the censer which is before Mesharu,
A table thou shalt place behind the censer which is before the protecting god.
The censer which is before Shamash thou shalt strew,
Take the hand of the sacrificer, and speak thus:
" May So-and-so, thy servant, offer a sacrifice at the rising of the sun,
May he raise the staff of cedar, and stand in the presence of thy great divinity;
May thy great divinity be well-pleased
With reference to this sheep,
All of whose flesh is unblemished, whose appearances are auspicious."
Thereupon thou shalt offer the sacrifice;
He (i. e., the sacrificer) shall hold the sheep, and thou shalt perform the sprinklings,
Making a step toward the slaughtered animal.
The censer which is before Ramman thou shalt strew, and do as before.
The censer which is before Marduk thou shalt strew, and do as before.
The censer which is before A-a thou shalt strew, and do as before.
The censer which is before Bu-ne-ne thou shalt strew, and do as before.
The censer which is before Kettu thou shalt strew, and do as before.
The censer which is before Mesharu thou shalt strew, and do as before.
The censer which is before the protecting god thou shalt strew, and do as before.
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, and the shume flesh thou shalt wash in the bason,
Lay before Shamash, light the censer,
And make a step toward the censer.

The right thigh, the hinça flesh, and the shume flesh thou shalt wash in the bason,
Lay before Ramman, light the censer,
And make a step toward the censer.
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, and the shume flesh thou shalt wash in the bason,
Lay before Marduk, light the censer,
And make a step toward the censer.
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, and the shume flesh thou shalt wash in the bason,
Lay before A-a, light the censer,
And make a step toward the censer.
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, and the shume flesh thou shalt wash in the bason,
Lay before Bu-ne-ne, light the censer,
And make a step toward the censer.
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, and the shume flesh thou shalt wash in the bason,
Lay before Kettu, light the censer,
And make a step toward the censer.
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, and the shume flesh thou shalt wash in the bason,
Lay before Mesharu, light the censer,
And make a step toward the censer.
The right thigh, the hinça flesh, and the shume flesh thou shalt wash in the bason,
Lay before the protecting god, light the censer,
And make a step toward the censer.
The sacrificer shall raise his hand, pray, prostrate himself,
Clear away the table which stands before the protecting god,
Take the four jugs of sesame wine which stand upon the table
And pour them out before the censer,
Take away the censer, prostrate himself, and kneel.
The sacrificer shall raise his hand, pray, prostrate himself,
Clear away the table which stands before Mesharu,

Take the four jugs of sesame wine which stand upon the table
And pour them out before the censer,
Take away the censer, prostrate himself, and kneel.
The sacrificer shall raise his hand, pray, prostrate himself,
Clear away the table which stands before Kettu,
Take the four jugs of sesame wine which stand upon the table
And pour them out before the censer,
Take away the censer, prostrate himself, and kneel.
The sacrificer shall raise his hand, pray, prostrate himself,
Clear away the table which stands before Bu-ne-ne,
Take the four jugs of sesame wine which stand upon the table
And pour them out before the censer,
Take away the censer, prostrate himself, and kneel.
The sacrificer shall raise his hand, pray, prostrate himself,
Clear away the table which stands before A-a,
Take the four jugs of sesame wine which stand upon the table
And pour them out before the censer,
Take away the censer, prostrate himself, and kneel.
The sacrificer shall raise his hand, pray, prostrate himself,
Clear away the table which stands before Marduk,
Take the four jugs of sesame wine which stand upon the table
And pour them out before the censer,
Take away the censer, prostrate himself, and kneel.
The sacrificer shall raise his hand, pray, prostrate himself,
Clear away the table which stands before Ramman,
Take the four jugs of sesame wine which stand upon the table
And pour them out before the censer,

Take away the censer, prostrate himself, and kneel.
The sacrificer shall raise his hand, pray, prostrate himself,
Clear away the table which stands before Shamash,
Take the four jugs of sesame wine which stand upon the table
And pour them out before the censer,
Take away the censer, prostrate himself, and kneel.

ISHTAR'S DESCENT TO HADES

TOWARD the land of No-Return, the region of darkness,[1]
Ishtar, the daughter of the Moon-god, directed her attention.
The Moon-god's daughter directed her attention
Toward the house of darkness, Irkalla's dwelling-place,
Toward the house out of which he who enters never comes,
Toward the road whose way turns not back,
Toward the house where he who enters is deprived of light,
A place where dust is their sustenance, their food clay,
Light they see not, they sit in darkness,
They are clothed, like a bird, with feathered raiment,
Over door and bolt is spread the dust.
Ishtar, on her arrival at the gate of the land of No-Return,
Addressed the porter of the gate:
"O porter of the waters, open thy gate,
Open thy gate, let me enter!
If thou dost not open the gate, and I enter not,
I will shatter the door, the bolt I will break in pieces,
I will shatter the threshold, I will tear away the doors,
I will bring up the dead that they may eat and live,
And the dead shall join themselves to the living."

The porter opened his mouth to speak,
He addressed the Princess Ishtar:
"Stay, my lady, do not destroy it (i. e., the door).

[1] Or, the region which thou knowest, of which thou hast heard.

Let me go and announce thy name to the Queen Allatu."
The porter went within and addressed Allatu:
"These waters thy sister Ishtar has crossed
nu-kil-tu sha kip-pi-i rabuti da * * * (?)"
When the goddess Allatu [heard] this,
Like a fallen tap-pu tree * * *
Like a broken ku-ni-nu reed, she sank down and spoke:
"What does her heart wish of me? What do her spirits desire?
These waters have I with * * *
For food I will eat clay, for wine I will drink [sewage],
I will weep for the men who have left their wives,
I will weep for the concubines who have been torn from the bosom of their masters,
For the little children will I weep, who before their time [are taken away].
Go, porter, open thy gate for her,
Do unto her according to the ancient custom."

The porter went and opened for her his gate:
"Enter, my lady; may Kutu (i. e., the under-world) rejoice,
May the palace of the land of No-Return be glad at thy presence!"
The first gate he caused her to enter, he approached and took off the great crown of her head.
"Why, O porter, hast thou taken off the great crown of my head?"
"Enter, my lady, for such is the custom of Allatu."
The second gate he caused her to enter, he approached and took off the ornaments of her ears.
"Why, O porter, hast thou taken off the ornaments of my ears?"
"Enter, my lady, for such is the custom of Allatu."
The third gate he caused her to enter, he approached and took off the chains about her neck.
"Why, O porter, hast thou taken off the chains about my neck?"
"Enter, my lady, for such is the custom of Allatu."

The fourth gate he caused her to enter, he approached and took off the ornaments of her breast.
"Why, O porter, hast thou taken off the ornaments of my breast?"
"Enter, my lady, for such is the custom of Allatu."
The fifth gate he caused her to enter, he approached and took off the studded girdle of her waist.
"Why, O porter, hast thou taken off the studded girdle of my waist?"
"Enter, my lady, for such is the custom of Allatu."
The sixth gate he caused her to enter, he approached and took off the bracelets of her hands and the anklets of her feet.
"Why, O porter, hast thou taken off the bracelets of my hands and the anklets of my feet?"
"Enter, my lady, for such is the custom of Allatu."
The seventh gate he caused her to enter, he approached and took off the garment covering the shame of her body.
"Why, O porter, hast thou taken off the garment covering the shame of my body?"
"Enter, my lady, for such is the custom of Allatu."

As soon as Ishtar had descended to the land of No-Return,
Allatu saw her and moved angrily toward her.
Ishtar took no counsel, she threw herself upon her (Allatu).
Allatu opened her mouth to speak,
She addressed Namtar, her messenger:
"Go, Namtar, open my [gate] and * * *
Bring her forth * * * the goddess Ishtar.
With disease of the eyes [smite her],
With disease of the hips [smite] her,
With disease of the feet [smite] her,
With disease of the heart [smite] her,
With disease of the head [smite] her,
Upon her whole person [put disease]."

After the mistress Ishtar had descended to the land of No-Return,

The bull did not mount the cow, nor did the ass leap upon
the she-ass,
The man did not approach the maid in the street,
The man lay down to sleep upon his own couch,
While the maid slept by herself.

Pap-sukal, the messenger of the great gods, with countenance downcast before Shamash,
Was clad in sackcloth, he was filled with grief.
Shamash came into the presence of Sin, his father, weeping,
In the presence of Ea, the king, his tears ran down his cheeks.
"Ishtar has gone down into the earth, and has not yet come forth;
After Ishtar had descended to the land of No-Return,
The bull did not mount the cow, nor did the ass leap upon the she-ass,
The man did not approach the maid in the street,
The man lay down to sleep upon his own couch,
While the maid slept by herself."

Ea in the wisdom of his heart created a man,
He created Uddushunamir, the servant of the gods:
"Go, Uddushunamir, set thy face toward the gate of the land of No-Return,
May the seven gates of the land of No-Return open before thee,
May Allatu see thee, may she rejoice at thy arrival!
When her heart becomes at rest and she is in good spirits,
Conjure her by the name of the great gods;
Lift up thy head, direct thy attention to the water-skin (?) (saying),
'If you please, my lady, give me the water-skin, that I may drink the water therefrom.'"

Allatu, when she heard this,
Smote her thigh and bit her finger-tip:

"Thou hast sought from me a favour not to be sought after.
Begone, Uddushunamir. I will curse thee with a fearful curse:
The food of the sewage of the city shall be thy food,
The gutters of the city shall be thy drinking-place,
The shadow of the wall shall be thy station,
The threshold shall be thy place of residence,
May dungeon and prison-house destroy thy strength!"

Allatu opened her mouth to speak,
She addressed Namtar, her messenger:
"Go, Namtar, destroy the palace of righteousness,
Overturn the thresholds—for the posts are tottering—
Bring out the Anunnaki, seat them upon a golden throne,
Sprinkle Ishtar with the water of life, and take her from my presence."

Namtar went and destroyed the palace of righteousness,
He overturned the thresholds—the posts were tottering,
He brought out the Anunnaki, he seated them upon a golden throne,
He sprinkled Ishtar with the water of life and brought her forth.
He led her out through the first gate and restored to her the garment covering the shame of her body.
He led her out through the second gate and restored to her the bracelets of her hands and the anklets of her feet.
He led her out through the third gate and restored to her the studded girdle of her waist.
He led her out through the fourth gate and restored to her the ornaments of her breast.
He led her out through the fifth gate and restored to her the chains about her neck.
He led her out through the sixth gate and restored to her the ornaments of her ears.

He led her out through the seventh gate and restored to her the great crown of her head.

"If she[1] does not give to thee her[2] release, then turn thyself to her,[3]
Unto Tammuz, the husband of her[3] youth,
Pour out pure water, with goodly oil [anoint him],
In fine raiment clothe him, a flute of lapislazuli let him [play],
May the Uchati[4] wail with loud [wailing],
May the goddess Belili[5] [destroy] her ornaments,
With eye-stones shall be filled * * *"

The lament of her brother she heard, (and) Belili destroyed the ornaments of * * *
The eye-stones which were filled * * *

"O my only brother, do not let me perish!
On the day of Tammuz play for me the flute of lapislazuli, the samdu flute also play for me;
At that time play for me, O male-mourners and female-mourners,
On [?] instruments let them play, let them inhale the incense."

[1] Allatu. [2] That is, of the dead person. [3] Ishtar.
[4] Harlots, devoted to the worship of Ishtar. [5] A sister of Tammuz.

ORACLES GIVEN IN FAVOUR OF ESARHADDON

I

TO Esarhaddon, king of countries,
Fear not!
As for that calumny with which he has pressed his claims against thee,
I will tell him that I will not support him (?).
Thy enemies
Like the wild-boar * * * of the month Simanu
Shall be scattered from before thy feet.
The great lady am I,
I am Ishtar of Arbela,
Who thy enemies
Casts down before thy feet.
What are the words of mine,
That I have spoken to thee,
Upon which thou couldst not rely?
I am Ishtar of Arbela.
Thine enemies I will cut off,
I will hand them over to thee. I[1]
Am Ishtar of Arbela.
When thou commandest
A forward march,
Fear not!
Thou art with the officers (?),

[1] Or: I, Ishtar of Arbela, in front of thee and in thy rear, will march.

Into the midst of my camp (?)
I will come and remain.

From the mouth of Ishtar-la-talimiat,
Of Arbela.

II

King of Assyria, fear not!
The enemy of the King of Assyria
I will deliver over to slaughter.
In thy harem * * *

[The rest is too mutilated to translate.]

From the mouth of Shinqi-sha-amur,
Of Arbela.

III

I will rejoice with Esarhaddon,
My king. Rejoice, O Arbela!

From the mouth of Rimute-allate, of Darahuia,
Which is a fortress of the mountains.

IV

Fear not, Esarhaddon.
I, Bel, am speaking
With thee.
The beams of thy heart
I will support, like thy mother
Who brought thee into being.
The sixty great gods with me
Will support (?) and protect thee.
Sin is on thy right, Shamash on thy left.
The sixty great gods are standing round about thee.
They are banded together on the site of the city.
Trust not in men,
Turn thy eyes
Toward me, look at me.
I, Ishtar of Arbela,
Have made Ashur favourable to thee.
Thy youth have I protected.

Fear not! Honour me!
Where is that enemy
Who is hostile to thee?
As I proclaim (?),
The future shall be like the past.
I am Nabu, the lord of the writing-reed.
Honour me!

From the mouth of Baia of Arbela.

V

This oracle contained originally twelve lines, of which only the beginning of the last four remain.

VI

I am Ishtar of Arbela.
O Esarhaddon, King of Assyria,
Within Asshur, Nineveh,
Kalah and Arbela,
Length of days
And everlasting years
To Esarhaddon, my king,
I will grant.
Thy great supporter (?)
Am I.
Thy good nurse
Am I.
Who, for distant days
And everlasting years,
Thy throne beneath the great heavens
Have established.
With pillars (?) of gold
Will I support it in the midst of the heavens.
The light of the diamond [1]
Will I cause to shine
In the face of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria.
Like the crown of my head

[1] Or, with Banks: the light which surrounds it.

Will I support him.
Fear not, O king;
I am speaking to thee,
I will not oppose thee.

I will establish thee (?).
I will not put thee to shame (?).
The river in safety
I will cause thee to cross.
O Esarhaddon, faithful son,
Son of Belit,
Girt with might,
With my own hands
I will make an end of
Thy enemies.
O Esarhaddon, King of Assyria,
Cup which is full of herbs,
Casket which is full of shekels,
O Esarhaddon, in the city Asshur
Length of days
And everlasting years
I will grant thee.
O Esarhaddon, in the midst of Arbela
I will be thy goodly shield.
O Esarhaddon, faithful son,
Son of Belit,
Plan
With understanding.
I love thee
Greatly.
On the earth is thy fear,
In the mighty heavens
Thy companionship.
On thy right I will
Cause smoke to ascend,
On thy left I will
Cause a fire to consume.
Dominion over [the countries]

Forever * * * will I give thee,
Forever * * *

[The rest of the column is lost.]

From his presence
Shall not come forth
He who devises
Secret (?)
Plots (?),
At his feet
I will cut them off.
Thou, even thou,
Art the king, my king.

From the mouth of Ishtar-bel-daini,
The seer (?) of the king.

VII

I, the lady of Arbela,
To the mother of the king:
When thou makest complaint to the gods (?),
Saying, "Those on the right
And on the left
Do thou place at thy side;"
And again, "Where is the
Offspring of my heart,
Which thou hast left prostrate on the plain?"
Now, O king, fear not!
Shall the kingdom be weakened?
Shall the power be weakened?

From the mouth of Beltu-aba-ishkun,
Of Arbela.

VIII

Greetings to Esarhaddon, King of Assyria.
Ishtar of Arbela
Will go forth to the plain.
Greetings to her child.

MONOLITH WITH SCULPTURED PORTRAIT OF ESARHADDON.

To the midst of the city she will send,
To * * *

[The remaining four lines are too mutilated to translate.]

Fear not, Esarhaddon,
I am Ishtar of Arbela.
* * * good.
Ishtar (?) of Arbela
Will fill
His cup (?).
The former word
Which I spake unto thee
On it thou didst not rely.
Now, therefore,
On the later one
Rely, and
Honour me.
When the storm (?)
Is raging,
And the winds
* * * * * * * *
In my presence honour me.
* * * * * * * *
Out of my palace
I will bring forth.
Well-prepared food shalt thou eat,
Well-mixed drinks
Shalt thou drink.
In the midst of thy palace
Thou shalt be well established.
Thy son, and thy son's son
Shall enlarge
The kingdom
By the favour of Nineb.

From the mouth of La-dagil-ili,
Of Arbela.

PRAYERS AND HYMNS

PRAYER TO MARDUK

O MIGHTY, powerful, strong one of Ashur,
O exalted prince, first-born of Nu-Dim-Mud,
O Marduk, terrible one, who maketh Eturra to rejoice,
Lord of Esagila, support of Babylon, lover of Ezida,
Protector of all living, patron of E-mahtila, renewer of life,
Protection of the land, benefactor of peoples, far and wide.
Forever the ruler of the shrines,
Forever is thy name acceptable in the mouth of the people.
O Marduk, great lord * * *
By thy illustrious command, Let me live, let me prosper and
Let me honour thy divinity!
When I plan, let me attain (my plan),
Establish truth in my mouth,
Put (?) kindness in my heart,
Return and be established. May they proclaim favours to me!
May my god stand at my right hand!
May my goddess stand at my left hand!
May my god, my benefactor, establish himself at my side,
To give and to command, to hearken and to show favour!
Let the word I speak, when I speak, be propitious.
O Marduk, great lord, command life,
The life of my life do thou command!
When I bow myself before thee joyfully, may I be satisfied!

May Bel be thy light, may Ea make thee to rejoice!
May the gods of the world be tributary to thee!
May the great gods please thy heart!

PRAYER TO MARDUK

O MARDUK, lord of countries, terrible one * * *
Powerful, independent, perfect * * *
Exalted, lofty, whose * * * can not be changed

[The next eight lines are too badly broken to translate.]

Lord of the fountains, mountains, and seas, overseer of the mountains,
Lords of * * * and fortresses, who directeth the course of the rivers,
Bestower of corn and grain (?), grower of wheat and barley (?), who maketh the green herb to spring forth.
Thou createst what god and goddess create, in the midst of their * * * art thou.
Ruler of Anunnaki, leader of the Igigi,
Wise one, first-born of Ea, creator of all mankind,
Lord art thou, and like a father and a mother in * * * art thou,
And thou, like the Sun-god, makest light their darkness.

[Twenty-four lines omitted.]

O my lord, stand by me at this time, and hear my cry, pronounce judgment and determine fate.
The sickness of * * * do thou destroy and the disease of my body do thou take away.
O my god and goddess, judge mankind and * * *
By command of thy mouth, may no evil approach me, the magic of the sorcerer and sorceress!

PRAYER TO NABU

O PRINCE, pre-eminent, first-born of Marduk,
O prudent ruler (?), offspring of Çarpanit,

O Nabu, bearer of the tablet of the fate of the gods, director of Esagila,
Lord of Ezida, protection of Borsippa,
Beloved of Ea, granter of life,
Patron of Babylon, protector of the living,
God of inhabited hills (?), of the fortress of the people, lord of temples,
Thy name is * * * in the mouth of the people, O Shedu!
Son of the great prince, Marduk, in thy mouth is truth!
In thy illustrious name, by command of thy great divinity,
I, So-and-so, son of So-and-so, who am grievously ill, thy servant,
Whom the hand of the demon and the poison of * * *
May I live and prosper * * *
Establish truth in my mouth,
Put (?) kindness in my heart,
Return and be established. May they proclaim favours to me!
May my god stand at my right hand!
May my goddess stand at my left hand!
May the favourable Shedu, the favourable Lamassu * * * with me!

[The following lines are too badly broken to be translated.]

PRAYER TO BAU

O Bau, mighty mistress, merciful mother, who dwellest in the brilliant heavens,
I beseech thee, my mistress, stand and hearken unto me;
I have sought thee, I have turned to thee, like the garment (?) of my god and goddess have I seized thy garment (?),
Since to pronounce judgments, to determine destinies,
To raise to life, to grant prosperity belongs to thee;
Since thou knowest to protect, to benefit and to save,
O Bau, mighty mistress, merciful mother,

Among the many stars of the heavens,
[My mistress], I have turned to thee, I have given heed.
Accept from me the upuntu plant and receive my supplication.
[May I send thee] to my god who is angry, to my goddess who is angry with me;
[To the god of my city] who is wroth and enraged with me * * *
O Bau, mighty mistress, at the word of thy exalted command, which in Ekur [can not be altered],
And thy eternal grace which [changeth not],
Let my wrathful god return, let my angry goddess * * *
Let the god of my city (return) who is wroth with me and whose heart is enraged with me,
Let him who is angry be at rest, him who is enraged [be pacified]!
O Bau, mighty mistress, thou dost hold * * *
To Marduk, king of the gods, my merciful lord * * *
Broad is thy protection, great is thy compassion * * *
The gift of favour and life do thou [bestow on me].
May I gladden thy heart; may I bow in humility before thee!

PRAYER TO NERGAL

O MIGHTY lord, exalted, first-born of NU.NAM.NIR,
Chief of the Anunnaki, lord of battle,
Offspring of KU.TU.SHAR, the great queen,
Nergal, most powerful of the gods, beloved of NIN.MIN.-NA,
Thou art brilliant in the bright heavens, lofty is thy position;
Thou art great in the Under World and the benefactor of its * * *
With Ea in the assembly of the gods, inscribe thy counsel.
With Sin in the heavens, thou seekest all things.
Bel, thy father, hath given thee the Black-headed people, all living creatures.

The cattle of Nergal, created things, he hath placed in thy hands.
I, So-and-so, the son of So-and-so * * * thy servant!
The * * * of god and goddess are laid upon me!
Raid and destruction are in my house.
Because thou art kind, I have turned to thy divinity,
Because thou art forgiving, I have sought for thee,
Because thou dost look with favour * * *
Because thou art merciful, I have stood before thee!
Look with true favour upon me and hearken to my cry.
May thy angry heart be at rest!
Absolve my sin, [free me from] my iniquity * * *
O angry god and angry goddess * * *
Let me proclaim thy greatness! let me bow in humility before thee!

PRAYER TO NINIB

O MIGHTY son, first-born of Bel,
Powerful, perfect, offspring of Esharra,
Clothed with terror, filled with violence;
Great storm, whose attack can not be withstood,
Mighty is thy station among the great gods.
In Ekur, the festival house, exalted is thy head,
And Bel, thy father, hath granted thee
That the commands for all the gods be intrusted to thy hand.
Thou pronouncest judgments for mankind.
Thou guidest aright the one without a guide, the one who is in need.
Thou takest the hand of the weak, thou liftest up the one who is not strong.
Thou bringest back the body of him who has been sent down to the Lower World.
Thou absolvest from sin the one who has sinned.
Thou speedily bringest into favour the one with whom his god is angry.
O Ninib, chief of the gods, a warrior art thou.

I, So-and-so, son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-so, whose goddess is So-and-so,
Have bound for thee a cord * * * have I offered thee;
I have offered thee tarrinnu, a goodly odour.
I have poured out for thee mead, a drink made from grain.
May the gods of Bel stand with thee!
May the gods of Ekur stand with thee!
Look with true favour upon me and hearken to my cry,
Receive my supplication and accept my prayer,
Let my words be acceptable unto thee,
Turn with favour toward me, thy worshipper.
Thy face have I beheld, may I attain prosperity.
O thou who lookest with favour, look with true favour upon me.
Absolve my sin, free me from my iniquity,
Remove my disgrace, and cast from me my transgression.
May my gods and goddesses command me and may they declare my good fortune!
May I gladden thy heart, may I bow in humility before thee!

PRAYERS TO THE SUN-GOD

I

O SHAMASH, great lord, whom I ask, with true grace answer me.
From this day, the third day of this month, Iyyar, to the eleventh day of Ab of this year—
A period covering one hundred days and one hundred nights—is a set time for priestly activity. In this set time
Will Kashtariti with his soldiers, or the soldiers of the Gimirri,
Or the soldiers of the Medes, or the soldiers of the Manni, or any enemy, as many as there are,
Have success with their plans? Will they, either by overthrow, or by might,

Or by contest, battle, and war, or by cutting through, or by making breaches with ipal and kipal,
Or by battering-rams, or by war-engines, or by famine,
Or by mention (?) of the names of god and goddess, or by friendly speech and friendly advances,
Or by any work of diplomacy, such as is used in the taking of a city,
Seize the city Kishassu, will they make entrance into that city Kishassu,
Will their hands capture that city Kishassu,
Will it fall to their hands? Thy great divinity knows.
Is the taking of that city Kishassu by the hand of any enemy, as many as there are,
From this day to the day of the time set by me, by command or by order of thy great divinity,
O Shamash, great lord, commanded, determined? Will one see it, will one hear it?
Heed not what may come after my set time! Heed not that their hearts plan against (?) and * * * !
Heed not that they bring about a massacre and a raid on their field!
Heed not what the chief offering of this day may be, whether good or bad; a stormy day on which it rains!
Heed not that something unclean may have produced uncleanness at the place of vision and rendered it unclean!
Heed not that the lamb of thy divinity, which is looked upon for vision, be imperfect and with blemish!
Heed not that he who touches the forepart of the lamb may have put on his garment for sacrifice as arshati, or have
Eaten, drunk, or rubbed upon himself something unclean, (or) may have bent (?), pressed (?), and put down the kun of the hand!
Heed not that in the mouth of the son of the seer, thy servant, a word may have been passed over in haste!

So * * * or so * * *, I ask thee, O Shamash, great lord,
Whether from this day, the third day of this month Iyyar, to the eleventh day of Ab of this year,
Kashtariti with his soldiers, or the soldiers of the Gimirri, or the soldiers of the Manni,
Or the soldiers of the Medes, or any enemy, as many as there are,
Will seize that city Kishassu, will they make entrance into that city Kishassu?
Will their hands capture that city Kishassu, will it fall to their hands?

[Here follow omens.]

On account of this lamb, grant assistance, and true grace, auspicious (?) appearances (?),
* * * favours bringing good fortune—the command of the mouth of thy great divinity—
Grant that I may see!

May it come unto thy great divinity, O Shamash, great lord, and may it (thou) answer with an oracle!

[Here follow omens.]

II

O Shamash, great lord, whom I ask, with true grace answer me!
Dur-Bel, a fortress of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, which lies on the border
Of the Manni, and which the Manni have taken and hold as their own—
May * * * the rab-shak, with soldiers, horses, forces, as many as he wishes,
March to retake that city Dur-Bel! By contest,
Battle or war, or by friendly speech and friendly advances,
Or by famine, hunger, or distress (?) * * *
Or by might, by cutting through, by tearing down (?) the wall,

Or by battering-rams or by lulimiti, or
By mention (?) of the names of god and goddess, or by any work of diplomacy, such as is used in the taking of a city,
Will the forces of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, seize that city Dur-Bel?
Will that city Dur-Bel fall to their hands?
Thy great divinity knows. Will one see it, will one hear it?
Heed not what the chief offering of this day may be, whether good or bad!
Heed not that something unclean may have produced uncleanness at the place of vision and rendered it unclean!
Heed not that in this place something unclean may have been looked upon for vision!
Heed not that an unclean AZAG may have touched the sacrifice, or that something may have been done to the sacrifice!
Heed not that the lamb of thy divinity, which is looked upon for vision, be imperfect and with blemish!
Heed not that he who touches the forepart of the lamb may have put on his garment for sacrifice as arshati, or have
Eaten, drunk, or rubbed upon himself something unclean, or may have bent (?), pressed (?), and put down (?) the kun of his hand!
Heed not that in the mouth of the son of the seer, thy servant, a word may have been passed over in haste!
So * * * or so * * * I ask thee, O Shamash, great lord.
When the forces of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, march
To retake Dur-Bel, the fortress which lies on the border of the Manni,
And that city Dur-Bel falls to their hands,
On account of this lamb grant assistance, and true grace, auspicious (?) appearances (?)
* * * favours bringing good fortune—the command of the mouth of thy great divinity—
Grant that I may see!

May it come unto thy great divinity, O Shamash, great lord, and may it (thou) answer with an oracle!

HYMN TO ISHTAR

A LIGHT of heaven, which like fire rises resplendent over the earth, art thou.
Goddess, when thou appearest on the earth,
Glorious, like the earth art thou.
As for thee, the path of justice bring thee gracious blessing.
When thou enterest the house of man—
A jackal, who goes on the hunt for a lamb, art thou,
A lion, who roams about in the field, art thou.
Welcome (?)! maid, beauty of heaven!
Maid Ishtar, beauty of heaven!
Adorned with splendid decorations, beauty of heaven,
Sister of the Sun-god, beauty of heaven.

To give omens in abundance I appear, I appear in perfection.
To give omens in abundance to my father Sin, I appear, I appear in perfection.
To give omens in abundance to my brother Shamash, I appear, I appear in perfection.
Me hath my father Nannar stationed; to give omens in abundance I appear.
In the brilliant heavens, to give omens in abundance, I appear, I appear in perfection.
With exultation in my supremacy, with exultation in my supremacy,
With exultation do I, a goddess, walk supreme;
Ishtar, the goddess of evening, am I;
Ishtar, the goddess of morning, am I;
Ishtar, who opens the portals of heaven, in my supremacy.
The heavens I destroy, the earth I devastate, in my supremacy.
Who destroys the heavens, who devastates the earth, in my supremacy.

Who rises resplendent on the firmament of heaven, whose name shines among the habitations of men, in my supremacy.
Queen of heaven, invoked above and below, in my supremacy.
The mountain I sweep away altogether, in my supremacy.
The great wall of the mountain am I, their great foundation am I, in my supremacy.

May thy heart be at rest, may thy liver be pacified!
May the great lord Anu give thy heart rest!
May the lord, the great mountain, Bel, pacify thy liver!
O goddess, mistress of heaven, may thy heart be at rest!
O lady, mistress of heaven, may thy liver be pacified!
O lady, mistress of E-an-na, may thy heart be at rest!
O lady, mistress of Erech, may thy liver be pacified!
O lady, mistress of * * *, may thy heart be at rest!
O lady, mistress of Harsag-kalama, may thy liver be pacified!
O lady, mistress of E-tur-kalama, may thy heart be at rest!
O lady, mistress of Babylon, may thy liver be pacified!
O lady, my mistress, goddess Nana, may thy heart be at rest!
O mistress of the house, mistress of the gods, may thy liver be pacified!

[Here follows the colophon.]

HYMN TO SIN, THE MOON-GOD

O LORD, chief of the gods, who in heaven and on earth alone is supreme!
Father Nannar, lord of increase, chief of the gods!
Father Nannar, lord of heaven, great one, chief of the gods!
Father Nannar, lord of the moon, chief of the gods!
Father Nannar, lord of Ur, chief of the gods!
Father Nannar, lord of E-gis-sir-gal, chief of the gods!

Father Nannar, lord of the moon-disk, brilliant one, chief of the gods!
Father Nannar, who rules with pomp, chief of the gods!
Father Nannar, who goes about in princely garb, chief of the gods!
O strong bull, with terrible horns, well-developed muscles, with a flowing beard of the colour of lapislazuli, full of vigour and life!
O fruit, which grows of itself, developed in appearance, beautiful to look upon, but whose luxuriance does not produce fruit!
O merciful one, begetter of everything, who has taken up his illustrious abode among living creatures!
O merciful and forgiving father, who holds in his hand the life of the whole country!
O Lord, thy divinity is full of fear, like the far-off heavens and the broad sea!
O ruler (?) of the land, founder of shrines, proclaimer of their name!
O Father, begetter of gods and men, builder of dwellings, establisher of offerings!
Who proclaims sovereignty, bestows sceptre and who determines destinies for far-off days!
O mighty leader, whose large heart no god understands!
O fiery one (?), whose knees do not grow weary, who opens up the road (?) for the gods his companions!
* * * who from the horizon to the zenith * * * who opens the doors of heaven, establishes his light (?) * * *
O Father, begetter of everything * * *
O Lord, who determines the decisions of heaven and earth, whose command no one [can set aside]!
O thou who holdest fire and water, who rulest over all creatures! What god can attain thy position?
In heaven who is exalted? Thou alone art exalted!
On earth who is exalted? Thou alone art exalted!

As for thee, thy command is proclaimed in heaven and the Igigi prostrate themselves!
As for thee, thy command is proclaimed on earth and the Anunnaki kiss the ground!
As for thee, thy command blows on high like a storm-wind; it makes food and drink abundant!
As for thee, when thy command is established on earth, vegetation springs up!
As for thee, thy command maketh fat the stable and herds, it increases all creatures!
As for thee, thy command brings about truth and righteousness, so that man speaks truth!
As for thee, thy command is the far-off heavens and the hidden earth, which no one penetrates!
As for thee, who can grasp thy command? Who can rival it?
O Lord, in heaven is [thy] sovereignty; on earth is [thy] supremacy; among the gods, thy companions, thou hast no rival!

[Several lines too badly broken to be translated.]

PENITENTIAL PSALMS

SUPPLIANT:

I, thy servant, full of sighs, cry unto thee.
Thou acceptest the fervent prayer of him who is burdened with sin.
Thou lookest upon a man and that man lives.
O potentate of the world, mistress of mankind!
Merciful one, to whom it is good to turn, who accepteth supplication!

PRIEST:

His god and his goddess being angry with him, he crieth unto thee.
Turn thy face toward him and take his hand.

SUPPLIANT:

Besides thee there is no god who guideth aright.
Look with true favour upon me and accept my supplication.
Declare, " how long " (I am to wait), and let thy liver be pacified.
When, O my mistress, will thy face be turned?
Like the doves do I moan, in sighs do I abound.

PRIEST:

With woe and grief, full of sighs, is his soul;
Tears doth he weep, laments doth he pour forth.

II

Thou who dost execute the commands of Bel * * *
Pointed dagger * * *
Thou who hast created the gods, who dost execute the commands of Bel!
Who dost make the green herb to spring up, mistress of mankind!
Who hast created everything, who dost guide aright all creatures!
Mother Ishtar, whose power no god can approach!
Most exalted mistress, whose command is all-powerful!
A prayer will I utter; may she do unto me what seems good unto her!
O my mistress, from the day when I was young, much to misfortune have I been yoked.
Food have I not eaten, weeping was my sustenance.
Water have I not drunk, tears were my drink.
My heart has not rejoiced, my spirits have not been cheerful.
* * * like a man I have not walked.
* * * bitterly I moan.
My transgressions are many, full of bitterness is my spirit.
O my mistress, make me to know my deed, establish for me a place of rest!
Absolve my sins, lift up my face!
O my god, lord of prayer, may my prayer address thee!
O my goddess, mistress of supplication, may my supplication address thee!
O god of the storm, lord of Harsaga, may my prayer address thee!
O Gubarra, mistress of the field, may my supplication address thee!
O lord of heaven and earth, lord of Eridu, may my prayer address thee!
O Damkina, mother of the house supreme, may my supplication address thee!
O Marduk, lord of Babylon, may my prayer address thee!

His consort, the exalted offspring (?) of heaven and earth,
may my supplication address thee!
O exalted servant, the god, who announces the good name,
may my prayer address thee!
O bride, the first-born of the god * * * , may my supplication address thee!
O mistress, who dost curb (?) unfriendly speech, may my prayer address thee!
Exalted, great, my mistress, goddess Nana, may my supplication address thee!
"Turn thine eye with favour toward me," may it say to thee!
"Turn thy face with favour toward me," may it say to thee!
"May thy heart be at rest," may it say to thee!
"May thy liver be pacified," may it say to thee!
May thy heart, as the heart of a mother who has borne children, be glad!
As a mother who has borne children, as a father who has begotten (them), may it be glad!

III

Because of his face, which he doth not raise on account of tears, doth he raise lamentation to thee.
Because of his feet, on which fetters are laid, doth he raise lamentation to thee.
Because of his hands, which are exhausted through weakness, doth he raise lamentation to thee.
Because of his breast, which like a flute pipes forth in cries, doth he raise lamentation to thee.

SUPPLIANT:

O mistress, in the anguish of my heart have I raised cries of anguish to thee; declare forgiveness.
O mistress, to thy servant declare respite! May thy heart be at rest!
Unto thy servant who hath experienced sorrow, grant mercy!

Turn thy face, receive his supplication!
To thy servant with whom thou hast been angry, turn in favour!
O my mistress, my hands are bound, yet I embrace (?) thee.
To the warlike hero, Shamash, thy beloved husband, grant a pledge, that I may walk before thee during a life of many days!
My god hath made supplication unto thee, may thy heart be at rest!
My goddess hath uttered a prayer unto thee, may thy liver be pacified!
O brave hero, god Anu, thy beloved husband, may my prayer address thee!
O * * *, god of justice, may my supplication address thee!
O * * *, thy exalted servant, may my prayer address thee!
O * * *, potentate of Ebabbara, may my supplication address thee!
"Turn thine eye with favour toward me," may it say to thee!
"Turn thy face with favour toward me," may it say to thee!
"May thy heart be at rest," may it say to thee!
"May thy liver be pacified," may it say to thee!
May thy heart, as the heart of a mother who has borne children, be glad!
As a mother who has borne children, as a father who has begotten (them), may it be glad!

Penitential Psalm to the goddess Anunit.

IV

May the wrath of the heart of my god be pacified!
May the god who is unknown to me be pacified!
May the goddess who is unknown to me be pacified!

May the known and unknown god be pacified!
May the known and unknown goddess be pacified!
May the heart of my god be pacified!
May the heart of my goddess be pacified!
May the god or goddess known or unknown be pacified!
May the god who is angry with me be pacified!
May the goddess who is angry with me be pacified!
The sin which I have committed I know not.
The misdeed which I have committed I know not.
A gracious name may my god announce!
A gracious name may my goddess announce!
A gracious name may my known and unknown god announce!
A gracious name may my known and unknown goddess announce!
Pure food have I not eaten,
Clear water have I not drunk.
An offence against my god have I unwittingly committed.
A transgression against my goddess have I unwittingly done.
O lord, my sins are many, great are my iniquities!
My god, my sins are many, great are my iniquities!
My goddess, my sins are many, great are my iniquities!
Known or unknown god, my sins are many, great are my iniquities!
Known or unknown goddess, my sins are many, great are my iniquities!
The sin, which I have committed, I know not.
The iniquity, which I have done, I know not.
The offence, which I have committed, I know not.
The transgression I have done, I know not.
The lord, in the anger of his heart, hath looked upon me.
The god, in the wrath of his heart, hath visited me.
The goddess hath become angry with me, and hath grievously stricken me.
The known or unknown god hath straitened me.
The known or unknown goddess hath brought affliction upon me.

I sought for help, but no one taketh my hand.
I wept, but no one came to my side.
I utter cries, but no one hearkens to me.
I am afflicted, I am overcome, I do not look up.
Unto my merciful god I turn, I make supplication.
I kiss the feet of my goddess and * * *
To known and unknown god, I make supplication.
To known and unknown goddess, I make supplication.
O lord, look with favour upon me, receive my supplication!
O goddess, look with favour upon me, receive my supplication!
Known and unknown god * * *
Known and unknown goddess * * *
How long, my god * * *
How long, my goddess, until thy face be turned toward me?
How long, known and unknown god, until the anger of thy heart be pacified?
How long, known and unknown goddess, until thy unfriendly heart be pacified?
Mankind is perverted and has no judgment.
Of all men who are alive, who knows anything?
They do not know whether they do good or evil.
O lord, do not cast aside thy servant!
He is cast into the mire; take his hand.
The sin which I have sinned, turn to mercy!
The iniquity which I have committed, let the wind carry away!
My many transgressions tear off like a garment!
My god, my sins are seven times seven; forgive my sins!
My goddess, my sins are seven times seven; forgive my sins!
Known and unknown god, my sins are seven times seven; forgive my sins!
Known and unknown goddess, my sins are seven times seven; forgive my sins!
Forgive my sins and I will humble myself before thee.

May thy heart, as the heart of a mother who hath borne children, be glad!
As a mother who hath borne children, as a father who hath begotten (them), may it be glad!

COLOPHON

Penitential Psalm of sixty-five lines. Tablet for any god.
His word announces peace to me.
Like the original, copied and revised.
Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, King of Assyria.

V

How long, O my mistress, will the powerful enemy consume thy land?
In thy chief city, Erech, thirst prevails.
In E-ul-bar, the house of thy oracle, blood is poured out like water.
In all thy lands hath he kindled fires and over them hath he poured (fire) like * * *
O my mistress, much to misfortune have I been yoked.
O my mistress, thou hast encompassed me, and into pain hast thou brought me.
The mighty enemy hath trodden me under foot like a reed.
I can not think, I can not plan.
Like a (wind-swept) field I moan night and day.
I, thy servant, supplicate thee.
May thy heart be at rest, may thy liver be pacified!

[Broken off.]

VI

O lord, whose heart in heaven doth not find rest!
O lord, whose heart on earth is not appeased!
In heaven and on earth it doth not find rest!
He who hath brought me low and cut me off!
He who hath placed fetters (?) on my hands!
He who hath placed chains on my body!

He who hath filled my eyes with tears!
He who hath filled my heart with dejection and lamentation!
May his pure heart be at rest, may my prayer address him!
May his heart rest in peace!
May the heart of his lordship rest in peace!
" O heart, turn thyself, turn thyself," let be said to him!
" O heart, rest, rest," let be said to him!

PRIEST:

He desires too much for his heart, who would pass judgment on himself.
To pacify his heart, may the spirits of earth [support him] in prayer!
May the spirits of earth, who are the creation of Anu, support him in prayer!
His god hath borne aloft his supplication, may he address his prayer to thee!
When he breaks into a lamentation to set at ease, may thy heart be at rest!

SUPPLIANT:

O lord, great ruler, Ninib, may my prayer address thee!
O suppliant mistress of Nippur, may my supplication address thee!
O lord of heaven and earth, lord of Eridu, may my prayer address thee!
O Damkina, mother of the house supreme, may my supplication address thee!
O Marduk, lord of Babylon, may my prayer address thee!
His consort, the exalted offspring (?) of heaven and earth, may my supplication address thee!
O exalted servant, the god, who announceth the good name, may my prayer address thee!
O bride, the first-born of the god * * *, may my supplication address thee!
O god of the storm, lord of Harsaga, may my prayer address thee!

O Gubarra, mistress of the field, may my supplication address thee!
"Turn thine eye with favour toward me," may it say to thee!
"Turn thy face with favour toward me," may it say to thee!
"May thy heart be at rest," may it say to thee!
"May thy liver be pacified," may it say to thee!
May thy heart, as the heart of a mother who hath borne children, be glad!
As a mother who hath borne children, as a father who hath begotten (them), may it be glad!

COLOPHON

Penitential Psalm of forty-five lines. Tablet for the god Bel.
Like the original, copied and revised.

VII

PRIEST:

In sighing he sits.
With cries of affliction, in anguish of heart.
With bitter weeping, with bitter sighing,
Like the doves doth he moan, in distress night and day.
Unto his merciful god like a wild cow doth he cry.
Sighs of affliction doth he raise.
Before his god he prostrates himself in supplication.
He weeps that he may approach, that nothing may hold (him) back.

SUPPLIANT:

My deed will I declare, my deed which can not be declared.
My words will I repeat, my words which can not be repeated.
My god! my deed will I declare, my deed which can not be declared.

VIII

Loose his chains, cast off his fetters,
Undo his band, to his captivity * * *
* * * his understanding (?) * * *
* * * have filled him (?) with lamentation and * * *
Sickness, a stroke, misery, affliction,
Have laid hold of him, and his sighing has become weaker and weaker.
Imprisonment (?), misery, fear, and oppression (?)
Have brought him low and stilled his lamentation.
He hath sinned and full of grief he weeps before thee.
His spirits are depressed, he stands trembling before thee.
He is unnerved; he rains down tears like a heavy storm.
He is overpowered and * * *
Like a shrieking bird he uttereth troublous cries.
With sighs he declareth his humility.
What has my lord's servant said and devised?
Let his mouth bring that which I know not!

SUPPLIANT:

My sins are many, the number which I have sinned.
May this curse depart, may it go out into the desert!
My sins are many, the number which I have sinned.
May this curse depart, may it go out into the desert!

PRIEST:

* * * scorn; the covering (?) of his mouth and * * *
Hath taken hold of him; the covering (?) of his face hath led him astray; he lieth prostrate.
Before thy scorn, his hands are bound.
"Will he loose thee?" He is not able to know.
He speaketh to thee with sighing.
May the command of Ea pacify thy heart!
May his earnest supplication find favour with thee above!
"Sighing or mercy; how long still," shall he say to thee!
Behold his painful suffering!
May thy heart be at rest, and grant him mercy!
Take his hand, forgive his sin!

Remove the erysipelas and fever which are on him!
By thy command, grant respite to thy downcast servant!
Send forth thy scorn into the river along with his jaundice!
Undo his bands, loose his fetters!
Light up thy countenance, commend him to his god, his creator!
Grant life to thy servant, that he may glorify thy power!
May all the habitations bow before thy greatness!
Receive his present, accept his redemption-money!
In the land of peace, may he walk before thee!
With rich abundance may he fill thy shrine!
In thy house (?) may his abundant (offering) be placed!
May he pour out fat like water over thy (partition)-walls (?)!
May he make thy thresholds to drip with fat in abundance!
May he erect for thee a * * * of cedar-wood!
The sweetest incense, the full product (?) of grain (?).
Look with favour, O lord, upon thy servant, full of sighs!
Let thy wind blow; grant him freedom (?) at once!
May thy proud scorn be pacified!
Cast off his fetters, that he may breathe freely!
Undo his bands, loose his fetters!
* * * declare his fate!
* * * spare, spare his life!
* * * declare his fate!
* * * spare, spare his life!
What hath the servant, the creation of thy hand, devised?
What hath he planned, what is his fault (?)?
* * * the servant fears his lord.
* * * What can he add thereto?

[Too badly broken to be translated.]

IX

O my god, who art angry with me, accept my prayer!
O my goddess, who art wroth with me, receive my supplication!
Receive my supplication, let thy liver be at rest!

O my lord, gracious and merciful, [look upon me]!
He who guideth the span of life, who stayeth the hand of death, my god, accept my prayer!
O my goddess, look with favour upon me and receive my supplication!
May my sins be forgiven, may my transgressions be forgotten!
May the ban be loosened, may the chains be cast off!
May the seven winds carry away my sighs!
May I strip off my wickedness, may the birds carry it to the heavens!
May the fish carry off my misery, the river bear it away!
May the beasts of the field take it from me, may the running waters of the river wash me clean!
Make me bright like gold!
Like a ring (?) of diamonds (?) may I be precious in thy sight!
Cleanse me from wickedness, save my soul! I will watch (?) thy court and pledge myself to thee.
Remove me from my wickedness, and may I receive protection from thee!
Grant to me that I may see a favourable dream!
May the dream which I see be favourable, may the dream which I see come true!
The dream which I see, turn to my favour!
May the god * * *, the god of dreams, stand at my head!
Make me to enter into Esagila, the temple of the gods, the house of life!
Commend me to the gracious favour of the merciful Marduk!
I will bow myself before thy greatness, I will honour thy divinity.
May the inhabitants of my city glorify thy power!

SOME BABYLONIAN LAWS[1]

A. ANCIENT BABYLONIAN LAWS

BE it enacted forever and for all future days: If a son say to his father, "Thou art not my father," he can cut off (his locks), make him a slave and sell him for money.—If a son say to his mother, "Thou art not my mother," she can cut off his locks, turn him out of town, or (at least) drive him away from home (i. e., she can have him deprived of citizenship and of inheritance, but his liberty he loses not).—If a father say to his son, "Thou art not my son," the latter has to leave house and field (i. e., he loses everything).—If a mother say to her son, "Thou art not my son," he shall leave house and furniture.—If a wife be unfaithful to her husband and then says, "Thou art not my husband," let her be thrown into the river.—If a husband say to his wife, "Thou art not my wife," he shall as a fine pay one half maneh of silver.—If some one hires a servant and the latter dies or is rendered useless otherwise (e. g., by flight, rebellion, or sickness) he shall give (to the owner) as daily wages ten KA of corn a day.

If an overseer or a fisherman ordered to the service of the king does not come, but sends a hireling in his stead, that same overseer or fisherman shall be put to

[1] Laws governing private as well as public and political life were written up in Babylonia as early as 2250 B. C. Unfortunately, most of these early documents have been preserved in very fragmentary condition, so that only a few phases of early Babylonian law and jurisprudence are now known to us.

death, and his house shall go into the possession of the hireling.

If a man lets out his field to a farmer and he has received the rent for his field, and afterward a flood pours down upon that field, or some animal destroys the harvest of the farmer; in case now the rent of this field is not yet paid, or * * *[1]

When a merchant gives to his clerk grain, wool, oil, or some other merchandise for sale, the clerk shall give a strict account and turn in the money to the merchant; and the merchant shall give to the clerk a receipt for the money paid over to him.

When a man has bought a male or female slave, and the sale is fought by a third party (the real owner) and is in consequence thereof declared void, the seller of the slave has to pay for all damages.[2]

When in an inclosed yard a disturbance occurs, or, again, when a lion kills, his keeper shall pay all damages, and the owner of the yard shall receive the killed animals.

When a peasant says to the date-vender, "All the dates in this garden thou mayest take for thy money," that vender shall not do so; but the dates that grow in the garden shall be and remain the property of the owner, and with these dates he shall pay the vender for the latter's money and the interests accrued, as the written agreement calls for; but what remains of dates after that shall be and remain the property of the owner.

When a shepherd of small cattle, after having driven the herd from pasture, and when the whole troop has passed within the city gates, drives his cattle to another man's field (within the city walls), and pastures it there, that shepherd shall take care of the field, which he has given to his

[1] The law here no doubt said that, in case of damage by weather or animals, a renter of a field will have certain reduction granted. If he paid in advance, part of the money will be refunded to him; if he pays at the end of the lease, he need not pay the full amount.

[2] Contract tablets show that in addition to this fine the fake-owner was condemned to do service unto the king in socage.

flock as pasture, and shall give to the owner of the field for every day the amount of sixty KA.

B. NEO-BABYLONIAN LAWS

If a man sell a slave-girl for money, and another party proves just claims to her, and takes her away (from her present owner), the seller shall return the money to the buyer, to exactly the same amount that his receipt calls for; if (in the meanwhile) she has borne children, he shall—in addition—pay for each child one half shekel.

If a man, after having promised, either verbally or in writing, a certain dowry to his daughter, loses part of his property, he can give his daughter a dowry in accordance with the property as it is now, and neither father-in-law nor son-in-law shall go to law on that account.

If a man has given his daughter a dowry, and the daughter dies without an issue, the dowry reverts to the house of her father.

If a woman, whose dowry her husband has taken charge of, remains childless and loses her husband, her dowry shall be returned to her in full out of the late husband's estate. If her husband during his lifetime has presented her part of his property, she shall retain this also and still receive her own dowry in full. But if she had no dowry, the judge (of the probate court) shall examine into the condition of her husband's estate and then give her a proper share in accordance with her late husband's property.

SOME PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

WHO grows pregnant without having conceived? Who grows fat without having eaten?

(He that says), "Oh, that I might take revenge and even add to it more!" is like unto a man that draws water from a well in which there is no water, and rubs his skin without anointing it.

When their god turned away, misery invaded their dwelling-places. The wicked established himself, but the righteous waxed not old; the religious and devout whose devotion his lord regarded not, and every noble whom his lord forsook, their want set in and their suffering was heightened.

The enemy will not be scattered in front of the gate of them whose weapons are not strong.

My knees hasten on, not do rest my feet; but bereft of common sense, misfortune follows at my heels.

A heifer I am, yoked to a mule; on the wagon, to which we are harnessed, I pull the yoke.

With disease that can not be cured and hunger that can not be stilled, a coffer of silver and a trunk full of gold are not able to restore health or to still hunger.

My bracer surrounds me like as a divine garment; my powerful rock is founded in the ocean.

In a house made of bitumen and brick I dwell; boats are gliding past above me.

If I consume all my garlic when the wind blows, my heart will be troubled when the rainy season sets in—i. e., if one eats all his vegetables when the wind blows, in the hope of the coming rain, he is apt to suffer want before fresh vegetables have grown, as the result of the rainy season.

Just as an oven becomes old, so is (thine enemy) unable to do harm unto thee.

Thou camest to take thine enemy's property, the enemy came and took thy property.

A drunken man has the strength of a worm.

The life of yesterday, it is every day the same—i. e., nothing new under the sun.

Thou art so offensive that when thou goest into the river the water becomes foul, and when thou goest into the garden the fruit grows bitter.

When the seed corn is not good, germs can not sprout, and grain will not grow.

I honour him, because he is head of the family; I polish it, because it is a stone.—A riddle on the Assyrian word shebu, which, according to Dr. Jäger, in "Contributions to Assyriology," ii, 302, 303, means: (1) elder, old man, senex; and (2) brick—thus: if shebu means head of the family, I pay respect and honour him; if it means brick, I polish it.

How do we know whether corn is good and full, and how do we know whether it is meagre and light? Answer: When the ears sink to the ground we know it is good, and when it stands upright we know it is meagre.

Because I must die I will eat; because I must live I will work.

Strife you find among the servants (?), gossip among barbers.

A servant in a strange town may be taken for a high officer.

Enter into friendship the very first day, and thou dost thereby deliver thyself into everlasting servitude.

With every one he is friendly and enters into companionship.

The ox of an enemy shall eat weeds, one's own ox shall lie in fat pasture.

The liberality of the king insures the liberality of the magnate; the liberality of the king insures the benevolence of the governor—i. e., like master like man.

THE REPORTS OF THE MAGICIANS AND ASTROLOGERS OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON

I. WHEN THE MOON APPEARS ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE MONTH

WHEN the Moon appears on the first day, there will be silence, the land will be satisfied. When the day is long according to its calculation, there will be a long reign. From Bullutu.

When the Moon appears on the first day, there will be silence, the land will be satisfied. This is for Nisan and Tishri (?). When the Moon is regularly full, the crops of the land will prosper, the king will go to pre-eminence.

May Ashur, Shamash, Nabu, and Marduk, day after day, month after month, year after year, grant happiness, health, joy, and exultation, a secure throne forever, for long days and many years to the king, my lord! From Nabu-iqbi.

Two or three times during these days we have looked for Mars, but could not see it. If the king, my lord, should say, "Is it an omen that it is invisible?" it is not. From Ishtar-shum-eresh.

II. OMENS FROM THE HORNS OF THE MOON

When the Moon's horns face equally, there will be a secure dwelling for the land. When at the Moon's ap-

pearance (its horns) are pointed, the king wherever his face is set will rule the land, (or) wherever he presses on will overcome. From Irasshi-ilu, the king's servant, the greater.

When at the Moon's appearance its right horn is long and its left horn is short, the king's hand will conquer a land other than this. When the Moon at its appearance is very large, an eclipse will take place. When the Moon at its appearance is very bright, the crops of the land will prosper. When the day is long according to its calculation, there will be a long reign. The thirtieth day completed the month. In Elul an eclipse of Elam. From Nergal-etir.

When the Moon appears on the first of Kislev, the King of Akkad, wherever he goes, will ravage the land; (or) the King of Akkad, wherever his face is set, will rule the land. (On the fourteenth day the Moon was seen with the Sun.) There will be an overthrowing of fortresses and downfall of garrisons; there will be obedience and good-will in the land. As for the rest, the king (will see?) their good luck. May the king soon hear a happy report and greeting! From Asharidu.

Concerning Mercury, of which the king, my lord, sent me, yesterday Ishtar-shum-eresh in the palace proclaimed its going forth to Nabu-ahi-eriba. The omens in the festival day came, they have all been observed and seen, they have passed off. From Balasi.

III. WHEN THE MOON APPEARS ON THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY

When the Moon at its appearance appears on the twenty-eighth day as the first day, it is evil for Aharru. When the Moon appears on the twenty-eighth day, it is lucky for Akkad, unlucky for Aharru. From the Chief Physician.

IV. WHEN THE MOON APPEARS ON THE THIRTIETH DAY

When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Nisan, Subartu Ahlamu will devour: a foreign tongue will gain the ascendency in Aharru. (We are Subartu.) When the Moon appears on the thirtieth day, there will be cold in the land.

The Moon appeared without the Sun on the fourteenth of Tebet; the Moon completes the day in Shebat. On the fourteenth it appears without the Sun; the Moon completes the day in Adar. On the fourteenth it appears without the Sun; the Moon will complete the day in Nisan. From Nabu-ahi-eriba.

When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Sivan, the abundance of Aharru Ahlamu will devour. When the Moon appears on the thirtieth day, there will be cold, (or) there will be the clamour of the enemy in the land. When the Moon at its appearance appears low, the enemy will seize on the land. When the Moon at its appearance appears low, the submission of a far country will come to the king (or) a messenger will come. From Irasshi-ilu, the king's servant.

When the Moon appears on the thirtieth of Ab, there will be a devastation of Akkad. Let not the all-powerful king leave me; it is I who daily beg of the king for my hunger; and now to brick-work he has set me, saying, "Make bricks." Let not the king, my lord, leave me and I shall not die. From Tabia.

V. VARIOUS OMENS FROM THE MOON

When the Moon disappears, evil will befall the land. When the Moon disappears out of its reckoning, an eclipse will take place. (The Moon disappeared on the twenty-fourth day.) When a halo surrounds the Sun on the day of the Moon's disappearance, an eclipse of the left side of the Moon will take place.

In Kislev a watch was kept for the eclipse, the halo surrounding the Sun and the disappearance of the Moon (being the causes of the watch for an eclipse in Kislev) having been observed. May the king, my lord, know, and may he rest happy! From Irasshi-ilu, the king's servant (the greater).

VI. OMENS FROM HALOS

Last night a halo surrounded the Moon, and Jupiter and Scorpio stood within it. When a halo surrounds the Moon and Jupiter stands within it, the King of Akkad will be besieged. When a halo surrounds the Moon and Jupiter stands within it, there will be a slaughter of cattle and beasts of the field. (Marduk is Umunpauddu at its appearance; when it has risen for two (or four?) hours it becomes Sagmigar; when it stands in the meridian it becomes Nibiru.) When a halo surrounds the Moon and Scorpio stands in it, it will cause men to marry princesses, (or) lions will die, and the traffic of the land will be hindered. (These are from the series "When a halo surrounds the Moon and Jupiter stands within it, the King of Aharru will exercise might and accomplish the defeat of the land of his foe." This is unpropitious.) From Nabu-musheçi.

When a halo surrounds the Moon, and Regulus stands within it, women will bear male children. From Nergal-etir.

When a halo surrounds the Moon and a planet stands within it, robbers will rage. (Saturn stood within the halo of the Moon.) When Jupiter draws near to Taurus, the good fortune of the land passes away, (or) the generation of cattle and sheep is not prosperous. (Jupiter has entered Taurus: let the king, my lord, keep himself from the storm-wind.) When Mars reaches the path of the Sun, there will be a famine of cattle, there will be want. (Mars reached Saturn.) When a planet and Mars stand facing one

another, there will be an invasion of the enemy. When Mars, its rising is dark * * * its light like * * *

When the greater halo surrounds the Moon, that land will be enlarged, destructions will surround men. When it surrounds and Cancer stands within it, the King of Akkad will prolong life. When Regulus stands within it, women will bear male children. When the greater halo surrounds the moon and is thin, there will be a giving of years to the king. (A great halo has surrounded it, and has remained for many nights and is uninterrupted.) From Shapiku, of Borsippa.

VII. WHEN THE MOON AND SUN ARE SEEN WITH ONE ANOTHER

(1) On the Twelfth Day

When the Moon appears out of its expected time, the market will be low. (It was seen with the Sun on the twelfth.) When the Moon and Sun are seen with one another out of their expected time, a strong enemy will overcome the land; the King of Akkad will accomplish the defeat of his foe.

(2) On the Fourteenth Day

When the Moon reaches the Sun and with it fades out of sight, its horns being dim, there will be truth in the land, and the son will speak the truth with his father. (On the fourteenth the Moon was seen with the Sun.) When the Moon and the Sun are invisible, the king will increase wisdom; the king of the land, the foundation of his throne will be secure. (On the fourteenth day the Moon was seen with the Sun.) When the Moon and Sun are seen with one another on the fourteenth, there will be silence, the land will be satisfied; the gods intend Akkad for happiness. Joy in the heart of the people. The cattle of Akkad will lie down securely in the pasture-places. When a dark halo surrounds the Moon, it gathers clouds; that month will

bring rain. When its horns are dim, a flood will come. (On the fourteenth the Moon was seen with the Sun.)

About the people concerning whom I sent to the king, my lord, the king does not say, "Why?" but has said, "Let them bring them hither." Now the king knows I hold no land in Assyria: I, what is my family to them, or what my life? Who is my god, who is my lord, to whom and how are my eyes turned? Now let my lord, the king, for whose life I pray Shamash, send it unto Ahisha, by royal authority, and let his messenger bring the people: let the governor of Babylon cause him to leave. Let Nabu-etir-napshati, my son, the king's servant, come, that with me he may visit (?) the king.

On the fourteenth the Moon and Sun were seen with one another. Last night a halo surrounded the Moon, Saturn stood within it near the Moon.

They shall bring in that tablet of the Day of Bel which we have written for the king, my lord, to see, and they shall give us the Akkadian tablet of the king. They shall inclose three "stars" therein on the front, and shall direct the officer that whoever opens the document shall close it in his presence.

When the Moon stops in its course the market will be low. On the fifteenth it was seen with the Sun. Last night a halo surrounded the Moon, and Virgo and Spica stood within it. When a halo surrounds the Moon, and Spica (Pan) stands within it, brigands will be rampant, and there will be much robbery in the land. When a "river" surrounds the Moon, there will be great rains and showers. A-edin stood within the halo of the Moon. From Nabu-iqisha, of Borsippa.

(3) On the Fifteenth Day

When Jupiter goes with Venus, the prayer of the land will reach the heart of the gods. Marduk and Çarpanit will

hear the prayer of their people, and will have mercy on my people.

Let them send me an ass, that it may ease my feet. From Nergal-etir.

(4) On the Sixteenth Day

When the Moon and Sun are seen with one another on the sixteenth day, king to king will send hostility. The king will be besieged in his palace for the space of a month. The feet of the enemy will be against the land; the enemy will march triumphantly in his land. When the Moon on the fourteenth or fifteenth of Tammuz is not seen with the Sun, the king will be besieged in his palace. When it is seen on the sixteenth day, it is lucky for Subartu, evil for Akkad and Aharru. From Akkullanu.

VIII. OMENS FROM THE SUN

When the Sun stands in the place of the Moon, the king of the land will be secure on his throne. When the Sun stands above or below the Moon, the foundation of the throne will be secure; the king will stand in his justice. When the Sun and Moon are invisible, the king of the land will increase wisdom. (Last night Saturn drew near to the Moon. Saturn is the star of the Sun. This is its interpretation; it is lucky for the king. The Sun is the king's star.)

IX. OMENS FROM STARS

When the Moon occults Jupiter, that year a king will die, (or) an eclipse of the Moon and Sun will take place. A great king will die. When Jupiter enters the midst of the Moon, there will be want in Aharru. The King of Elam will be slain with the sword: in Subarti * * * (?) will revolt. When Jupiter enters the midst of the Moon, the market of the land will be low. When Jupiter goes out from behind the Moon, there will be hostility in the land.

After two hours of the night had passed, a great star shone from north to south. Its omens are propitious for

the king's desire. The King of Akkad will accomplish his mission. From Asharidu (the greater), the king's servant.

Venus is appearing at sunset in the Tropic of Cancer: this is its interpretation. When Venus appears in Sivan there will be a slaughter of the enemy. When Venus appears in the Tropic of Cancer the King of Akkad will have no rival. Five or six days ago it reached Cancer. This is its interpretation. When Venus approaches Cancer there will be obedience and welfare in the land: the gods will have mercy on the land. Empty * * * (?) will be full, and the crops of the land will prosper; the sick in the land will recover. Pregnant women will perfect their offspring. The great gods will show favour to the sanctuaries of the land, the houses of the great gods will be renewed. From Shumaï.

When Venus in Kislev from the first to the thirtieth day disappears at sunrise, there will be famine of corn and straw in the land. The lord of kings has spoken thus: "Why hast thou not (observed?) the month, and sent the lucky and unlucky?" The prince of the kingdom has been neglected, has not been obeyed. May the lord of kings when his face is favourable lift up my head that I may make my decisions and tell the king, my lord! From Asharidu.

When Mercury is seen in Iyyar, a flood will come and benefit the fields and meadow lands. When Jupiter reaches Mars (Mulmul), it will rain. On the fourteenth the Moon and Sun were not seen with one another: on the fifteenth god was seen with god. The King of Subarti will have no rival. (I have heard from my father.) From Bel-ahi-eriba.

Mercury is visible with Mars at sunset; it is ascending to Shugi. There will be rains and floods. When Jupiter appears at the beginning of the year, in that year its crops will prosper. From Nadinu.

XII. OMENS FROM STORMS

When a storm comes upon the land, the crops will be increased, the market will be steady. When a storm prevails in the land, the "reign" of the land will rule great power. When a storm bursts in Sebat, an eclipse of Kasshi will take place. From Asharidu, the king's servant.

XIII. OMENS FROM THUNDER

When it thunders on the day of the Moon's disappearance, the crops will prosper and the market will be steady. When it rains on the day of the Moon's disappearance, it will bring on the crops and the market will be steady. Long live the lord of kings! From Asharidu.

When it thunders in Ab, the day is dark, heaven rains, lightning lightens, waters will be poured forth in the channels. When it thunders on a cloudless day, there will be darkness (or) famine in the land.

Concerning this sickness the king has not spoken from his heart. The sickness lasts a year: people that are ill recover. Do thou grant, O king, my lord, that they pursue the worship of the gods and pray the gods day and night! Does truth ever reach the king and his family? A man should kill a calf (?) without blemish, he should cut it in pieces; he himself should say as follows: "A man that is in full health, his days are short (?); he is sick, his days are long." From Ishtar-shum-eresh.

When it thunders in Tishri, the day is dark, heaven reigns, the rainbow is divided, lightning lightens, the gods will have mercy on the land. From the Chief Scribe.

When it thunders in Shebat, there will be an invasion of locusts. When it thunders in Shebat, heaven will rain with stones.

XIV. OMENS FROM EARTHQUAKES

When the earth quakes in Nisan, the king's land will revolt from him. When the earth quakes during the night, harm will come to the land, or devastation to the land. From Apla.

Last night there was an earthquake. When the earth quakes in Tebet, the king will sit in the city of his foe. When the earth quakes in Tebet, the palace of the prince will be smitten and go to ruins. When the earth quakes in the night, there will be harm to the land (or) devastation to the land. From the Chief Astrologer.

XV. OMENS FROM ECLIPSES

On the fourteenth an eclipse will take place. It is evil for Elam and Aharru, lucky for the king, my lord; let the king, my lord, rest happy. It will be seen without Venus; to the king, my lord, I say, "There will be an eclipse." From Irasshi-ilu, the servant of the king (the greater).

To the king of countries, my lord, thy servant, Bel-usur (?) May Bel, Nabu, and Shamash be gracious to the king, my lord! An eclipse has happened, but it was not visible in Asshur; this eclipse passed the city Asshur, wherein the king is dwelling; now there are clouds everywhere, so that whether it did or did not happen we do not know. Let the lord of kings send to Asshur, to all cities, to Babylon, Nippur, Erech, and Borsippa; whatever has been seen in those cities the king will hear for certain. The omens (?) * * * the omen for an eclipse happened in Adar and Nisan; I send all to the king, my lord, and they shall make a nambulbi-ceremony for the eclipse. Without fail (?) let not the king omit (?) to act rightly. The great gods in the city wherein the king dwells have obscured the heavens and will not show the eclipse; so let the king know that this eclipse is not directed against the king, my lord, or his country. Let the king rejoice!

(When) it thunders in Nisan, corn (?) will be diminished.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

About B. C.	3800	Sargon of Agadi.
	3000	Gudea of Shirpurla.
	2300	Elamite Invasion of Babylonia.
	2287–2233	Hammurabi of Babylon.
	1840	Ishme Dagan, Patesi of Asshur.
	1750	Kassite Invasion of Babylonia.
	1450–1400	Correspondence between Kings of Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt (Tel-el-Amarna).
	1320	Shalmaneser I of Assyria.
	1150	Kassite Dynasty superseded by Dynasty of Pashe.
	1127–1117	Nebuchadrezzar I of Babylon.
	1120–1100	Tiglath-pileser I of Assyria.
	1100–1000	Aramaean Migration into Mesopotamia and Syria.
B. C.	885– 860	Ashurnatsirpal of Assyria.
	860– 825	Shalmaneser II of Assyria.
	825– 811	Shamshiramman of Assyria.
	811– 782	Rammannirari III of Assyria.
	782– 745	Assyria in eclipse under Shalmaneser III, Ashurdan III, Ashurnirari.
	745– 727	Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria.
	727– 722	Shalmaneser IV of Assyria.
	722– 705	Sargon II of Assyria.
	705– 682	Sennacherib of Assyria.
	682– 668	Esarhaddon of Assyria.
	668– 626	Ashurbanipal of Assyria.